

THE ANDOVER REVIEW

VOLUME IX.—PUBLISHED MONTHLY.—NUMBER LIII.

MAY, 1888

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VOL. IX. — MAY, 1888. — No. LIII.

LAW AND GRACE.

AMONG objections which have been urged against the positions of progressive orthodoxy, or so-called new theology, none has been more confident than the objection that the sovereignty of moral law is impeached and the sense of sinfulness reduced. It is said that the gospel everywhere assumes the sinfulness and guilt of men, and that it has its plainest significance and most effective power as forgiveness of sin and deliverance from the condemnation of guilt. The gospel presupposes, it is maintained, that man under law is by his disobedience a sinful, guilty, and lost creature to whom pardon and salvation are offered by the grace of God in Christ; and it is therefore urged that any theories which have a tendency to weaken the authority of law or to obscure the sinfulness and guilt of man must at the same time diminish the urgency of the claims of the gospel. It is also maintained by its opponents that progressive orthodoxy, especially by its hypothesis of opportunity of salvation for certain classes after death, does weaken the imperative of moral law in the regard of men, and does have a tendency to quiet the sense of sin and guilt.

The object of the present article is to indicate the writer's thought of the relation of the law of God to the grace of God. The contrast between man's condition under the law which he transgresses and his condition under grace cannot be too strongly emphasized, but I consider that the relations have been sacrificed to the contrasts of law and grace to such a degree that the conception of law as Christian in its character and authority has been almost lost, and that therefore, as one result, the doctrine of Atonement, considered as satisfaction of law, has been involved in confusions and contradictions. Attention will therefore be directed chiefly to what I consider the actual relations of law and

grace, and I shall depend for the most part on the principal positions taken for a reply to objections such as that which has been mentioned.

The general course of my thought will follow along the lines of the following propositions, which are given at the outset in order to map out for convenience in discussion the ground which is to be traversed.

1. If the ordinary conceptions of law, transgression, guilt, and pardon are retained, there is nothing in the positions of progressive orthodoxy which tends to invalidate or weaken them.

2. When law and grace are related, the law, with few or no exceptions, is the Christian law of life and character.

3. The law which the Atonement satisfies is the law which was perfectly realized in Christ, and which is in process of realization in his followers, or, The satisfaction of law is the realization of law.

4. The justice which is the supreme and final vindication of law is, in relation to the gospel, not antecedent but subsequent, not separate nor antagonistic, but supplementary and harmonious.

I agree fully with the opinions generally held by evangelical believers in respect to the contrast between man's condition under law and his condition under grace, so that there is no occasion for discussion at that point. It is agreed that men have sinned against law, that is, have done what is wrong, and what they know to be wrong, and have thereby incurred certain bad consequences, actual and prospective. It is also agreed that their deliverance, restoration, and righteousness are available only by reason of the gospel of Jesus Christ. Law-preaching as preceding gospel-preaching, law-work as preceding pardon and peace, have this significance, that vivid thoughts of what one ought to be, with corresponding thoughts of his actual state of disobedience, need to be awakened in order that he may be led to exercise repentance of sin, and faith in Christ as Redeemer and King. A process of this sort always occurs when one is delivered from sin by the grace of God which is revealed in Christ. So much is agreed upon at the outset.

Now a common, perhaps the most common, conception of the law in transgression of which men are guilty is of the law as it is embodied in the decalogue, which is an abstract code of duties expressed chiefly in the form of prohibitions. This code is usually referred to when the law is mentioned by the writers of the New Testament, though sometimes the ceremonial ritual is

intended.¹ To the Hebrews and to many of the Gentiles the decalogue was well known, and stood for their conceptions of the law of God and the duty of man. Allusions to law in the New Testament and arguments relative to law were upon the basis of the ten commandments given to Moses. This code is, I believe, usually in mind when the moral law is thought of in Christian lands at the present time. I shall show presently some reasons why conceptions of duty and law cannot, and in reality do not, correspond to the Mosaic code, which on the one hand marks a relatively advanced stage in the development of moral ideas, and on the other hand is inadequate to embody the complete thought of law which is given by the ethical standards of Christianity.

I. At this point, however, I take up the first proposition, namely, that if the ordinary conceptions of law, transgression, guilt, and pardon are retained, there is nothing in the positions of progressive orthodoxy which tends to invalidate or weaken them. The opinion that there may be for a certain class opportunity after death of knowing the gospel has no such tendency. To be sure, the class referred to does not have even this current conception of law, nor of its relation to grace; but waiving that point, it may be urged that the supposition of an extension of opportunity to those who in this life do not hear of Christ serves rather to intensify than to reduce our sense of the guilt and helplessness of man. The sovereignty of law is emphasized when the necessity of forgiveness and redemption is seen to be so profound that no other salvation can be expected, either here or hereafter, than that which the gospel provides. The belief that the gospel is offered at some time to every sinner has no tendency to weaken the authority of law in disobedience to which he becomes a sinner. The law is as imperative to a disobedient person at sixty years of age, who may yet repent, as it was to the same person at thirty. It is as imperative to the sinner after death as before death, whether the gospel is yet to be offered to him or not.

Neither does it appear that opportunity of salvation after death for those who have not had the gospel, palliates sin or reduces the sense of its enormity. Such a conclusion could be reached only on the assumption that the guilt of sin is reduced by supposing that under any circumstances it can be forgiven or its power

¹ Sometimes the entire body of precepts and directions given by Moses is included in references to the law, but the decalogue epitomized them, and is therefore considered, in this discussion, to be practically equivalent to the ethical contents of the Mosaic law.

broken after death. The argument would be, I suppose, that if any who are unforgiven at death are not eternally lost, sin is not so sinful as it has been painted. If an ignorant barbarian is not so sinful at death but that he can still be redeemed, then he is not so sinful as he would be if, after death, he can by no possibility be redeemed. No one, of course, would dispute such a statement as that. But it assumes that every sinner who is not redeemed before death is an incorrigible sinner, and that his redemption has become impossible. If this were known to be true, it would follow that hope of his salvation after death would reduce the sense of the enormity of sin. But there is no sufficient reason for assuming that all sinners at death are incorrigible. It is certain only that persistent rejection of Christ is the incorrigible, unpardonable sin. It is not certain that those who are ignorant of Christ do or can commit that sin. Unless it can be shown by unequivocal statements of Scripture or by indisputable proof that it is impossible after death for a sinner to expect or for God to grant forgiveness, there is nothing in the time or way in which God offers his grace which can affect the degree of sin in the persons to whom that grace is offered. It may rather be affirmed that the more grace is seen to abound the more reason is there to suppose that sin abounds. The offer of grace to sinners, whenever and wherever made, is always signal evidence of their sin, guilt, and helplessness. It may be that the possibility of salvation after death for those who have not had the gospel on earth will be used by some, although without ground, as an excuse for delay in respect to repentance, but I am unable to discover that such possibility has any tendency to abate the authority of God's law, to excuse disobedience of it, or to weaken the sense of guilt. On the contrary, the more illustrious the grace of God in the offers of salvation, the more convincing is the proof that man is a sinner who must perish in his sins but for the mercy of God.

Whatever view, then, is taken of the law which men transgress, the objection is not valid that the universality of Christian probation weakens the authority of law, reduces the sense of sin, or palliates the guilt of transgression.

II. But if a law higher than the decalogue is imposed upon all men, or at least upon all those who have the gospel, and as soon as they have it, the authority of law would be higher, and the transgression of it more culpable than in the case of a relatively lower standard of duty. This conclusion legitimately follows from the considerations now to be presented, although it will not be ex-

plicity indicated, but trusted to impress itself by such force as the argument may seem to possess. The discussion advances, then, to the second proposition, namely, that when law and grace are related, the law, with few or no exceptions, is the Christian law of life and character.

If moral law is made equivalent to the decalogue, difficulties rapidly arise. If that standard to which Paul referred the Jews is taken as the measure of obligation, sin, and guilt for all men, many important facts of ethical development in its various grades must be disregarded. The complete law is not variable, but human apprehension of it is unequal, and apprehension of duty has something to do with obligation, as also with character, and therefore with sin and guilt. Climatic conditions affect men in a certain way whether or not they know that oxygen for their good or miasma for their harm preponderates. But the knowledge men have of morality and therefore their intention or ignorance in disregarding the laws of righteousness make a difference not only in respect to their deserving but also in respect to their actual state of character and conscience. Moral law is recognized by all men, that is, all men are moral beings, perceiving claims of duty, feeling sense of responsibility, and acknowledging transgression of law. But the moral law as some men apprehend it has by no means the comprehensiveness of the decalogue, and the moral law as other men apprehend it is decidedly in advance of the decalogue. There is an evolution of morals apart from the gospel, another apart from the decalogue, another under the gospel. The human race is now at all possible stages of moral apprehension and development. There is no particular code which is placed over all men. All codes, indeed, are expressions, more or less correct, of the one perfect law of which all are reflections. But men are not under any particular code before they actually have it, and all men are not under the same code. To affirm that all men are under the same obligation, it must be assumed that all are under the same law. But law must be reduced to a minimum before it can be maintained that all men are under the same law. Only the simplest virtues could be included if we would find the law which all men have, just as the conception of religion must be nearly emptied of its contents before it can be held that all men are religious beings, and that both fetichism and Christianity are forms of religion. When Paul argues that the heathen are under law, he is contending only that they are under some law which they recognize, and in disobedience to which they are guilty. He does not

maintain that the law they have is equivalent to the decalogue. Jews have *the* law; Gentiles have *a* law. Before the relations of law and grace are taken into account, no one can fail to see that there is a great variety of moral standards with corresponding variety of obligation, blameworthiness and character. When the gospel is made known, practically only one standard of duty comes into relation with grace, as will presently be maintained. The variety of standards remains only while the gospel is not known. Even the decalogue does not remain distinct when the gospel is presented, and is not the standard by which guilt is measured.

But before discussion advances to that point, a moment should be taken to gain a clearer thought of the significance of law. What is moral law? The most satisfactory definition is that *moral law is an ideal of conduct and character recognized as obligatory*. Moral law, in the form of commands, prohibitions, regulations, or principles, is, according to its remote or near approach to completeness, an outline, a sketch, or a perfect picture of the ideal man. The decalogue sketches an ideal character. It delineates reverence, filial feeling, regard for sacred seasons, respect for a neighbor's life, purity, property, and reputation. Before Christ came it would have been difficult to portray the ideal man more distinctly than by sketching all the features indicated by the ten commandments. The psalms personify righteousness in the ideal man, who is a blessed man because he does righteousness. Classic writers gave vividness to their notions of duty by descriptions of the perfect man in the various relations of life. And man ought to pursue the ideal which he perceives. The ideal is recognized as obligatory. Moral law signifies that something ought to exist which does not exist. It holds up an ideal of life which ought at every moment to be in process of realization. The law bids one see himself as other than he is, and to become other than he is, or to continue to advance in his present direction still further. All men have some ideal of conduct and character which is seen to be imperative. All ideals under which men are in process of education have some features of the perfect ideal or law. But all men have not equal knowledge. All have not reached the same point of ethical understanding and development.

The highest law, because it is the highest ideal of conduct and character, is given by Christianity. Jesus is the purest example of moral character, and the law of his life is the highest moral law for all men. The purest standard of morality which has been set before men is the Christian standard. It is higher than the

Mosaic code given in the decalogue, for it is personal rather than impersonal, it is embodied in principles rather than in rules, it is positive rather than prohibitory. It might also be shown that the Christian law or ideal has higher sanctions than any other, and thus stands before men clothed with the most majestic and imperative authority.

Now the first and greatest consideration for the present discussion is that for all in Christian communities the law under which they live, under which they are seen to be sinners, and under which they receive the offers of God's grace in Christ, is, not the decalogue, but the Christian law of life, and that this law is really meant whenever in Christian lands the relations of law and grace are in view. When law, obligation, transgression, and guilt are thought of in Christian communities, the standard of comparison is not the Mosaic, but the Christian conception of law. It is Christian custom, Christian principles, Christian example which present the ideal of duty. The moral sense which is addressed when accusation of sin and threatenings of punishment are directed at conscience, is the moral sense which has been educated by a living Christianity. The people of Christendom are under the higher, more delicate, more discriminating laws of morality which are Christian in requirement and in spirit. It is a mistake, therefore, to assume that moral law, in disobedience to which men become sinners, is something distinct from the gospel or in contrast with it, for the moral standards of Christian communities are the direct product of the gospel. The function of Christianity is in fact twofold: to set up the ideal of righteousness, and to enable men to realize it. I can think of no objects of the gospel, that is, of the incarnation and sacrifice of Christ, in relation either to God or man, which are not embraced in those two functions. So we must set out with the Christian ideal of duty in considering the relation of law to grace. There is no one in Christian countries who goes first in order of time through a process of law-work by which feelings of sin and guilt are aroused, and then subsequently to all that receives the gospel as a new addition to knowledge or a new disclosure of the grace of God and of the true ideal of life, although, of course, the gospel may come with a new meaning. The conception of sin as against God is in the thought of God as He is revealed in Christ. The conception of sin as failure to live according to the law of one's being is in the thought of character which the gospel presents. It is therefore true that the worst sin is rejection of Christ and of the life He opens. We are accustomed to

think that the unpardonable sin is settled disregard of the gospel's ideal of righteousness. The world, Christ said, would be convicted of sin because it believes not on Him.

In one respect, the current opinion that law comes first and gospel afterwards may seem to have the advantage of simplicity and directness. First, man under the holy law of God finds himself a sinner; then the gospel is offered, and through repentance and faith he is saved. But, as matter of fact, it is impossible to keep law and gospel separate in that way. To the Jews, when the gospel was first preached, that seemed to be the process, although Christian ideas of righteousness soon mingled with Hebrew ideas. The Jews had not been able to attain goodness under the standards of the decalogue; and under the higher standards of Christianity they fell still farther short. Thus in that case in which the contrast seems to be most sharply defined, the lines of Hebrew and Christian morality blend. But, on second thought, there is no loss, but rather gain, not only in depth and fullness, but also in simplicity and directness. First, man, under the Christian conception of duty, finds himself a sinner, a grievous sinner, when judged by such a standard; then the forgiveness, hope, and motive of the gospel are offered, and through repentance and faith he is saved. Because the law of goodness is given by the gospel, the sinner is none the less in need of the grace of God as it is displayed in the gospel. Because the very Christ who redeems is the Christ who, by his person and sacrifice, gives the law which condemns the disobedient, the contrast between the condition of disobedience and the condition of penitence and faith is none the less striking. In a word, the gospel creates its own standard of morality, and imposes it on men by the most sacred sanctions. Under the Christian conception of law the disobedient have greater guilt than under the Jewish or the natural conception of law. The most heinous sin is to refuse altogether the standards of righteousness established by Christ and the motives which are given in the gospel to turn men from their sins into the life of filial obedience to God. The highest law or ideal is that which is Christian, to which all other law is preliminary and preparatory, and as soon as the highest ideal is disclosed, men are under it as their authoritative, imperative law, and are bound to employ all means which are available to secure obedience. It seems hardly open to question, then, that the people of Christendom are under the law of Christian life, and that they accept the grace of the gospel in order that forgiveness for transgression of that law may be obtained, and that that law may be realized in life.

But how is it with those who do not have the gospel? Under what law are they? Evidently before they receive the gospel they are not under the law of Christian life, but as evidently, in that case, there is no question of the relation of law and grace. Their obligation and deserving are determined by their knowledge of duty and their power to obey. In some cases the present generation of such persons has an advantage over preceding generations. The natural advance from savagery to barbarism, and from barbarism to civilization, is sometimes marked by a degree of moral progress. In other cases, the present generation is at a disadvantage, as compared with preceding generations, which have left an inheritance chiefly of degradation in respect to moral practices and standards. The measure of obligation and deserving in all those cases is not the exact measure of moral loss nor of character. Such persons are as truly, even if not as largely, deprived of the benefits of obedience as if they had deliberately sinned against known law. Heredity and community, as well as their own acts, have done them moral harm. If the gospel is never brought to them, then no new conceptions of God which can be an influence for recovery come into consideration, and moral condition and desert are almost as various as the number of individuals. The only questions pertain to their power of self-recovery, and if they have no such power, to their eternal condition as sinners against the law they had. It may be believed that God will deal leniently with them in view of their disadvantage, but lenient judgment could not make them other than they are.

If the gospel is given to them at some period in their lives, previous to which they have had no knowledge of Christianity, I maintain that the law under which they come into relation to the grace of God is not the law under which they had lived, and by which they would, without knowledge of the gospel, have been judged, but, in essential respects, is the Christian law of conduct and character. In the case of certain persons it can be imagined that as they turn to Christ with penitence and faith the sin for which they seek forgiveness is precisely, to their thought, transgression of the law they previously had. But usually condemnation, guilt and pardon could not be measured within so narrow lines. For as soon as the gospel is made known, awakening hope of better things and pouring in a flood of light, it presents higher conceptions of God, and therefore higher standards of character. It presents the person and life of Christ, and therefore higher ideals

of goodness. Existing character comes into comparison with the ethical ideals of the gospel. Sin and guilt now take on another aspect. The old standards of obligation and guilt are lost sight of as the loftier standards of the gospel emerge into view. It is seen that the object of Christianity is to produce the new life in its purity as well as to provide forgiveness for the sins of the past. When the Christian ideal with its imperative sanctions is recognized, refusal to realize it changes the quality and turpitude of sin. This is the usual process. No missionary would dream of carrying forward a law-work on the basis of existing convictions before presenting the gospel. He relies on the gospel to give correct conceptions of duty and of the holy character of God. He expects the gospel to perform its customary work, which, as I have indicated, is twofold: to set up a new ideal in view of which sense of sin is deepened, and to furnish the motive-power for the adoption of that ideal. That is to say, the Christian conception of law, in some aspect of it, is the law under which, in most cases, heathen men turn from sin and begin to walk in newness of life. The cases in which, when men believe in Christ, a lower law can be brought into contrast with the gospel, are so few that they fall out of the account in a practical consideration of the significance of the law in relation to grace. Sin and guilt are measured by a law which is distinct from the Christian law only in the case of those who do not receive the gospel. As soon as the gospel of Christ is presented, men stand under its higher law of character and duty, and receive the grace of Christ, in order that his law may be realized in their lives.

The view which has been taken does not make lower forms of moral law different in kind from the Christian law, but lower only in respect to fullness and sanction. Moral law, however incomplete its form, is grounded in love as its principle. The "Law of Love, and Love as a Law," is the suggestive title of a well-known work on moral science. Jesus and Paul argued concerning the decalogue that its commands rest on the principle of love, and that love is the fulfilling of the law. The earlier codes were dim reflections of the perfect law, not different from it in character, but inferior to it. Of course, therefore, since all law is essentially love, the Christian ideal of love is the highest expression of moral law. My contention is, that as soon as a higher form of the perfect law is disclosed, immediately men are under its authority, and can no longer measure their purposes nor their transgressions by the inferior law which they previously had.

III. The doctrine of Atonement as related to law becomes more intelligible when it is seen that the Christian, and not some earlier and inferior type of moral law, is involved. What I shall indicate at this point is expressed in the third proposition, namely, The law which the Atonement satisfies is the law which was perfectly realized in Christ, and which is in process of realization in his followers; or, The satisfaction of law is the realization of law.

Many contradictions and objections to the doctrine of Atonement disappear when it is seen that Christ himself is the law, and gives the law which must be satisfied. Law is not something outside, something independent of Christ, making its demands and exacting its penalties as if it stood by itself. When the law is thought of as God's moral government over the world, antecedent to and apart from his revelation in Christ, a law which all men have violated, and which suspends its penalties over them; and when Christ's suffering is thought of as taking the place of that penalty, because his suffering is identical with, equivalent to, or calculated to secure the same ends as the infliction of penalty, so that the majesty of law is upheld, — we cannot help asking in perplexity how the requirements of a lower law are thus satisfied. While law is thought of as something other than the law of life which Christ realizes and introduces, many difficulties remain. And while the Atonement is thought of chiefly as satisfying the demand of the law for the punishment of transgressors, its highest relation to law is lost sight of.

It is true that, in some profound meaning, the displeasure of God against sinners was an element in the sufferings and death of Christ, not as resting on himself, but as resting on those He loved and with whom He had become vitally identified, and that thus the sufferings of Christ had a direct relation to punishment, were a vindication of law, and were a reason for the pardon of men who are brought to repentance. Various aspects of the vicarious sufferings of Christ in relation to the guilt of men have been considered in the chapter on Atonement in "Progressive Orthodoxy," and need not be repeated here. In that relation, however, there is a decided gain when the law is seen to be the law of life revealed in Christ. Then, all the turning away of men from Him, all the contradiction of sinners against himself, all their disregard and hatred of the type of holiness He exemplified, were affronts against the highest law, and his sufferings at the hands of sinners were plainly sufferings on account of the perfect law. But when it is seen that Christ, not only by his example, but also

and especially by his sacrificial death, was realizing in himself, and was bringing into the world, with the most sacred sanctions, that true law of life of which all before was only the anticipation, we have gained the complete idea of satisfaction of the law. The majesty of law is upheld and the demands of law are fully satisfied only when law is realized in life. There is only partial satisfaction when disobedience is punished, when some amount of suffering is borne to vindicate the broken law. What is wanted is obedience, not punishment; the joy of good life, not the pain of sinful life. It is not enough that the penalty of disobeying a lower law is borne. There must be the realization of law in life. The majesty of law is satisfied in Christ because the true law or ideal of life is perfectly expressed in his obedience, meekness, and sufferings, and also because He is a power to realize the complete ideal in man. Accordingly Paul says that Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth. In such example of perfect obedience to perfect law, and in such power to secure obedience in others, the lower law under which men had lived, in the case of any who had lived without the moral law of the gospel, is satisfied, for the lower is swallowed up in the higher. The greater includes the less. So far as it is proper to expect satisfaction of law, we should look, not for that partial satisfaction which consists in bearing the penalty of disobedience to imperfect law, either in the sufferings of the sinner or the sufferings of Christ, but to those conditions under which the law, the highest law, is or is likely to be realized in life. Suffering laid on Christ and considered in relation to transgression of law has little meaning except as it is seen to be also a power for turning men from sin to holiness. The exhibition of the perfect law in the life and sacrifice of the Son of God is the complete satisfaction, partly because it is such an exhibition and has its own intrinsic value, and partly because it is the power by which sinful men can be brought to holiness. This idea of the satisfaction of law by realizing it lies at the root of the theory that Christ by his *obedience*, sufferings, and death, made perfect satisfaction. That obedience, however, was rendered *through* sufferings and death. The theory that Christ's obedience or righteousness is imputed to us has in view the realization of law as its satisfaction.

It is not to be supposed, however, that the satisfaction of law by the realization of it was wrought out merely by the spotless example of Christ. It was by sufferings and death that He realized the completeness and established the power of the law of love,

so that his sacrifice on the cross had as direct a relation to the exhibition and introduction of the true ideal as to the punishment men deserve for the transgression of law. The perfect law as illustrated in Christ was not a natural, unimpeded development, like the unfolding of a flower. The perfect law of life could come to expression in a sinful world only by the endurance of struggle, buffeting, suffering, and death. Therefore, He was obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. The true life could be made vivid enough and influential enough to produce similar life in others only if it was wrought out in deeds of sacrifice and the devotion of death. The sinlessness of Christ, his unique personality, and his peculiar relation to the Father, make his power for redemption distinct in kind.

What, then, is meant by the saying that we are not under the law but under grace? It means that Jews who believed in Christ were no longer under a law which they were required, by their own unaided strength, to obey, but were inspired by higher sanctions and encouragements. It means that in place of the constraint of numerous rules, they had, under the gospel, the guidance of a few great principles, and had a large liberty entrusted to them. And it means, above all, that legal were replaced by filial relations. But this freedom of grace was really the substitution of a higher for a lower law, and so it is frequently explained in the epistles. The sons of God are said to be under the law of liberty, the law of love, the law of Christ. Jesus himself said that He came to fulfill the law, to fill in completely that outline of character which was sketched in the earlier law.

In Christ, law and grace, law and love unite. If thought starts from the side of law it is soon carried forward to the love of God in Christ, which is the principle of law and the motive for obedience. The ideal life of duty is realized in the Fatherhood of God and the sonship of man, a relation of grace. If thought starts from the side of grace, through which the love of God enters in to redeem men from sin and punishment, it is soon seen that this grace comes to actual result in the new life of man under the new law of love. In Christ and his salvation, law and grace are different sides of the same truth. Christ satisfies the law because He is the perfect law, and because He brings the perfect law to gradual realization in the lives of his followers. And this is all of grace because his life became perfect through sufferings which He voluntarily endured, and because law is enthroned in the hearts of his followers as the life of self-sacrificing service. The

doctrine of Atonement becomes intelligible and helpful when the law which is satisfied is seen to be, not something independent of and different from Christ and his gospel, but the law of his own matchless life and the ideal of life which He is reproducing in his disciples.

The same result is reached if the righteousness of God and its claims take the place of law in our thinking on this subject, that is, if the personal takes the place of the abstract view. The righteousness of God not merely exacts penalty when his righteous laws are disobeyed, neither is it vindictiveness, nor the scrupulous measuring of desert. The righteousness of God is the very character of God, and God's character is understood in the light of his requirements and desires concerning us. To know the character of God we need to know the highest ideal of human character He has set before us. We are thus brought back to the considerations already urged. The realization of righteousness in his children is what satisfies the righteousness of God. Punishment of disobedience is incidental, secondary, and incomplete satisfaction. Paul therefore argued that God could be righteous and also make righteous him that hath faith in Jesus. If a forensic meaning is attached to the phrase, so that it signifies declaring, or reckoning, or accounting men to be righteous, it is certain that a forensic can by no possibility be separated from an actual righteousness, existing or prospective.

IV. The thought of law with its obligations and penalties is associated with the thought of the justice of God in his claims upon men, and of his sentence of destiny, and we are therefore led finally to consider the relations of justice and grace. What is to be presented at this point is embraced in the proposition that the justice which is the supreme and final vindication of law is, in relation to the gospel, not antecedent but subsequent, not separate nor antagonistic, but supplementary and harmonious.

Justice pronounces sentence with impartiality and in strict accordance with desert. When we think of the divine justice as pronouncing judgment on sinners we have in mind the final sentence of destiny, or the sentence which would be pronounced if judgment were given at the present moment. It is in view of the totality of man's character and conduct, and the entire dealing of God with him in respect to knowledge, motive, and opportunity, that justice makes its decision. Justice, then, will express its complete and final judgment only when all of God's purpose for men or for the individual is accomplished. All the stages of

God's government will be traversed before the sentence of justice is given. Whatever might be the actual desert of any person if God's moral and gracious dealing with him were arrested at a given point, it is certain that justice will not pass its judgment until actually God has accomplished to the full his purpose of enlightenment and influence. The question in respect to justice must always be, therefore, whether at a given point, as at death, or at the age of fifty years, or at some point after death, the final stage of divine instruction, discipline, and opportunity for the individual has been reached. And this is a question of fact, not of necessity. Before a new revelation is given we could not argue from any known necessity in the character of God that it must be given. Nor can we argue from any necessity of God's moral government or of man's characteristics and desert for how long a period He will give space for repentance to the individual or the race. We are guided by the facts of God's government rather than by reasoned necessities. Such certainties as can be reached are inferred from facts already accomplished. The law that was made known to the Hebrews was a revelation of God's requirements which might have been withheld. If it had been withheld, and no more was ever to be given than what is called the light of nature (and which also might have been less clear than it is, so that it also is a revelation graciously afforded), then justice at some time would pronounce its sentence in view of the knowledge actually possessed. If the law of Moses had been the final revelation, and nothing more was to be expected before or after the death of the individual, then justice would decide on the desert of men according to their actual state with the knowledge they had. If more light and motive were to be given, the sentence of justice would not be pronounced, whatever the actual deserving of persons might be at any time before the clearer light came. The gospel, also, is a revelation of God's purposes in relation to men which might have been withheld. If it had been withheld entirely or is to be withheld forever from some men, then justice would give the final sentence in view of their actual knowledge. Upon those who have or are to have the light of the gospel, justice pronounces its sentence in view of their opportunity under grace. The final award is not made and could not justly be made at any preliminary point in the history of those who are to know God in Christ. That is to say, the desert of men, or their fate, is to be determined in view of all the knowledge, motive, and opportunity they have. It is not a question how much light men deserve to have,

but how much light they do have. If it is said that men can make no claim to the gospel, for that is all of grace, it must also certainly be said that the Jews could make no claim to the law which was given from Sinai, and which was a revelation not vouchsafed to other nations. We do not ask whether God must do thus and so, nor whether men have a right or claim to certain degrees of knowledge. We inquire what God has done, what He is doing, what He will do, and so far as we reach certainty concerning his actual or intended dealings we are aided in recognizing the conditions under which his justice will determine at last the fate of each individual. We therefore must ask what God's final and highest revelation is, to men or to any person. Then we have some of the data on which to base a conclusion concerning the divine sentence of final destiny. We can properly endeavor to ascertain God's purpose in the creation of man, judging from man's endowments and his tendency to approach certain ideals of character. We may learn how God energizes to realize that purpose, especially in view of obstacles in environment, obstacles in disposition, and obstacles in conduct.

There is, then, no conflict between justice and mercy, as if justice had a claim which mercy finds a way to satisfy. Justice waits, if such a phrase may be employed, till the whole case is in. After God has made all the manifestations of his righteousness and love which He intends to make, no plea will be urged to prevent justice from pronouncing its sentence. At a stage midway in the enlightenment of any person, he could not, indeed, claim more knowledge as a matter of right; but judgment will certainly be in view of the entire process of God's dealing by which the individual is led on from the lowest to the highest stages of that knowledge which God in his goodness sees fit to disclose.

We do, however, believe that God, even in his justice, apart from any consideration of his compassion, or, it should rather be said, especially in his justice, does not deal with men in an unequal manner. The prophet's defense of the righteousness of God is made to turn on the confident question, "Are not my ways equal?" It is difficult, if not impossible, to believe that any will be left to perish for want of that knowledge by which others are saved. Since, in this life, large numbers of God's children have no knowledge of the gospel of redemption, it may be assumed, in the absence of declarations to the contrary, that they will not be forever left at such disadvantage as compared with others, certainly that they will not on that account go down to everlasting

death. The existence of startling inequalities now is sometimes made an argument to show that in the life to come, and forever, inequalities may continue. But it should rather furnish probability that before the final destiny of all men is determined the disparity which is so perplexing here will be removed.

In the New Testament the judgment of the whole world is placed at the end of the dispensation of the gospel. This fact naturally suggests that all men are to have the equal advantage of the gospel before final judgment is pronounced, and that the justice of God is to be thought of, not as some earlier demand which is satisfied by God's mercy in giving his Son for the sins of the world, but rather as the final sentence pronounced after all the motives of righteousness and grace have been universally employed.

It might also be urged, although I will not take space to dwell upon it, that as the whole world is the object of Christ's sacrifice, it may be supposed that all men will be brought to the knowledge of Christ as Redeemer before they meet Him in judgment.

This view of justice in relation to grace does not conflict with the common opinion that men deserve condemnation and that through faith in Christ they are forgiven. But in the ultimate thought of justice we must be guided by our knowledge of God's actual dealings with men both in righteousness and love, and not by the bare desert of men considered apart from the revelations of God's character and purpose.

It is of great importance to remember that the significance of the gospel is by no means exhausted under the analogy of law, but that grace is to be thought of rather as establishing a filial relation of man towards God. Vicariousness is more intelligible when personal relations are in view than when abstract relations of legality are considered. But so far as the analogy of law is employed, it should be in the line of the considerations which have been presented.

A comprehensive view can be obtained only when, with the writers of both the Old and the New Testaments, we gain the perspective of prophecy, and extend our horizon till it corresponds somewhat with the largeness of God's disclosed purpose for realizing the destiny of the individual, and for bringing his glorious kingdom to its final and blessed consummation.

George Harris.

THE MUSLIM'S BIBLE.

THE Muslim's Bible, as all the world knows, is the Koran,—a word which, like the Greek biblos used for our sacred Scriptures, means “the reading” or “the book.” Properly pronounced it is *ku-rān*, or, more correctly with the Arabic definite article, “*al-ku-rān*,” — “the book.”¹

Two hundred and one millions of the human family receive and venerate the Koran as the very Word of God. We find it in Turkey, in Syria, in Egypt, in Persia, in India, and throughout the whole Oriental world, and in such out-of-the-way regions as Central Africa, and Central Asia, where the Christian Scriptures are seldom seen. It is printed by millions at the great printing presses of Cairo, Bombay, and Lucknow, and widely distributed throughout the world by zealous Muslim missionaries. The reverence paid to this book is very great, and in Muhammadan families we will usually find it carefully and reverently wrapped in a silken handkerchief and kept in some place of honor by the head of the household. A torn or soiled copy of the Koran is scarcely known, for in order to keep the holy book from desecration such copies are always consigned to the flames with a devout prayer for forgiveness. The religious Muslim tradesman reads his chapter before he begins the business of the day, the Muslim schoolboy is taught to peruse its pages before he enters upon more secular studies, the priests and students of divinity devote hour after hour to the study of its exegesis and its dogma, and very numerous are the treatises and commentaries compiled to elucidate, as well as to obscure, the real meaning of this wonderful book. Commentaries on the Koran are as numerous as those on the Bible, and many are the elaborate rules and canons for its interpretation which have been compiled by studious and learned men during the long period of twelve centuries of Muhammadan history.

It is probable that there is no other book in the world which receives such a degree of sincere veneration as this Muslim Koran. Two hundred and eighty-eight millions of Christians profess to base their creed and morals on the Christian's Bible, but one half of the number withhold it from the people, whilst a very fair pro-

¹ It is derived from the Arabic *Qara'*, which has the same meaning as the Hebrew קָרָא *kārā*, to read or to recite, which is frequently used in Jeremiah xxxvi., and which is equivalent to the Hebrew מִקְרָא *mikrā*, rendered in Nehemiah viii. 8, “the reading.”

portion of the two hundred millions of Protestants fail to give it that devout reverence which its position as God's holy Word demands. The Muslim with all his faults, and they are many, takes religion seriously, and is often amazed at the want of reverence exhibited by the Christian world. A Muslim chieftain once entered a large English church in North India, where nearly a thousand British troops were assembled for divine worship. There was a grand and impressive service, and an earnest sermon; but not a dozen persons actually bowed the knee in worship. The Muslim was amazed, and as he left the edifice he turned to the sexton, who was himself a Musalman, and said, "Do these Englishmen never worship their God?" An Afghan nobleman once visited the house of an English officer and saw a child's Bible on the floor. When told that the book was the Word of God he exclaimed, "But that is not the way we treat our Koran!"

It is a matter of dispute among Muslims whether the Koran is eternal. Muhammad being a strong predestinarian always maintained that the Koran existed with God before the creation of the world, and was revealed to him piecemeal by the medium of an angel messenger. The Koran is in the Arabic language, and is a comparatively small book. It contains not more than 80,000 words and some 6,000 verses. It is arranged in 114 chapters, which are called Soorahs, a similar division to the Sidareem of the Hebrew law. These Soorahs are named after words which occur in the text, as, for example, "the cow," "the table," "the spider," "the scattering words," "the short measure," "the sun," etc., etc.¹

The Koran is often translated, but it is never issued without the original Arabic text, and the commentaries are often written on the wide margin of the book. Some copies of the Koran are beautifully illuminated; the finest collection of ancient manuscripts being found in the library at Cairo. Since the invention of lithography comparatively few manuscripts have been produced, but formerly the students of mosques, like the monks of old, were largely engaged in multiplying copies of the sacred book. Some students commit the whole of the text to memory, a feat usually accomplished by religious persons who are blind. Those who upon examination can recite the whole of the book from memory

¹ For a full description of the Koran, its inspiration, its collation, its divisions, its contents, its sources, its recital, its interpretations, its theory of abrogation, and its reputed excellence and miraculous character, see article QUR'AN in Hughes' *Dictionary of Islam* (Scribner & Welford, New York, 1885).

are dignified with the honorable title of *Hāfiz*, or protector, — a protector of the Muslim faith.

There are many misconceptions regarding the manner in which Muhammad believed himself to have been the inspired medium of the Koran. Ayesha, the prophet's young wife, who survived him many years, and to whom the world is largely indebted for the minute facts of Muhammad's personal history, said he received the subject-matter of the Koran in true dreams and by various sounds. And doubtless as soon as the prophet believed himself to be a commissioned apostle of God, he regarded every dream, every intuition, and every impulse as a direct inspiration of the spirit. The contents of the Koran are not arranged chronologically; but Rodwell's English translation gives the chapters in the order they are believed by Muslims to have been delivered to the prophet, and from that compilation it will be seen that the earlier chapters are merely poetic effusions.

The account given of Muhammad's first direct revelation is exceedingly graphic, and the unprejudiced critic is compelled to admit that it bears evidence of truth, explain it how we will. Muhammad in his early life was known among his fellows as a man of unimpeachable veracity and of high moral character. Although an Arabian, he was the husband of one wife and worshiped one God. Being of a devout mind, he used to retire into a cave on Mount Heera in the suburbs of Mecca for the purpose of meditation and prayer, and it was there in this solitary cell that he first heard angel voices. Tradition has since declared it was Gabriel, but there is no evidence that Muhammad believed it to be more than an ordinary spirit. The spirit, so the story goes, gently seized him by the arm and said, "Read!" Muhammad replied, "But I cannot read!" The angel again said with emphasis, "Read!" "But I am not a reader!" he again pleaded. Then the spirit seized him firmly and said, "Read! in the name of thy Lord who created thee! who created thee from a clot of blood in the womb. Read! for thy Lord is most compassionate, He hath taught men the use of the pen, He hath taught man that which he knoweth not."

Muhammad was alarmed. He rushed out of the cave and hastened to his home in Mecca. Trembling he begged his faithful wife Khadijah to wrap him up in his mantle, and then he told her of the strange apparition of the cave. "I thought I should have died," he said. "It must have been the devil! I am a sorcerer." "Nay," replied his wife, "it cannot be so. God would never dis-

treass you; you are kind to your poor relatives, you speak the truth, you are faithful in your trusts, you abound in good works, you are hospitable, you help others; God surely will not kill you or distress you, O my husband!"

This first vision was followed by a period of silence during which no further communication was given. An evidence of itself, we think, of the sincerity of the prophet. It was during this trying period that Muhammad suffered severe mental depression and actually contemplated suicide. The period is known in Muslim theology as *Al Fatrah*, a term also used by the mystics for a lapse in spiritual life.

But the heavenly messenger came once more to the prophet when he lay enwrapped in his mantle in a peaceful slumber, and addressed him thus: "O thou enwrapped in a mantle, arise and preach!" Muhammad again thought it was the devil, but his good wife Khadijah adopted an ingenious way of testing the spiritual status of the occult messenger. In those days, as in apostolic times, the women were covered "because of the angels." Khadijah raised her veil, and the spirit ceased to speak. She veiled her head, and the spirit came. It was a proof positive, so Khadijah thought, that the angel who spoke to her husband was both modest and true. Khadijah then took her perplexed husband to her wise and discreet cousin Waraka. Waraka was a Christian convert from Judaism, and had translated, so it is said, the New Testament into the Arabic language. He listened patiently to Muhammad's story and to the testimony of the faithful Khadijah, and then exclaimed, "Why, it can be none other than the *Nāmūs* which appeared unto Moses the prophet."¹ From that moment Muhammad never doubted. He believed he was an inspired prophet. Every dream, every thought, every impulse was an inspiration. If there were contradictions — and contradictions there were — they must be reconciled somehow; but he never doubted, to the last moment of his life, that he was guided and directed, inspired in fact, by the God of Abraham. Sometimes the divine message needed correction, but his elaborate system of abrogation enabled him to undertake the task, for his impulses, as much as his convictions, were

¹ Emanuel Deutsch says: "The *namus* is a hermaphrodite in words. It is Arabic and also Greek. It is Talmudic. It is, in the first instance, *νόμος*, law, that which by custom and common consent has become so. In Talmudic phraseology it stands for the *Thorah* or Revealed Law. In Arabic it further means one who communicates a secret message. And all these different significations were conveyed by Waraqah to Muhammad." (See *Literary Remains*, p. 78.)

believed to be direct from the Almighty. Anguish of mind, distractions of doubts, were all dispelled by the voice of angels, and Muhammad believed himself to be a very prophet of God. It is true that the lofty enthusiasm of the poet gradually ebbed down to the calm designs of an Oriental chieftain, and that sometimes the inspired messenger sacrificed his faith in God to self-aggrandizement, but in all his words and actions Muhammad was true to himself, — although not always true to his God, — and he believed honestly that he was a commissioned apostle to reclaim a fallen world from the errors of polytheism and drunkenness, and to restore the worship of the one true God.

They are the teachings of this man, (for no one has ever raised a question as to the authorship of the book,) which are recorded in this wonderful volume of 80,000 words, and which is known to the world as the "Koran," but to the Muslim as "Al-kū-rān," — "the book." English writers have endeavored to underrate and underestimate the Koran as a literary production; but Goethe, who was perhaps better able to understand all the contradictions of Muhammad's character, for he has embodied them in his immortal "Faust," says the Koran is truly a wonderful book, — "it soon attracts, astounds, and in the end enforces our reverence. . . . Its style, in accordance with its contents and aim, is stern, grand, terrible — ever and anon truly sublime."

The Koran is undoubtedly confused in its progression and strangely mixed in its contents, because, unlike our Christian Bible, it is in no sense an historic book. (There are only two names of individuals in the whole book.) There is an absence of design in its structure, and, as we have already intimated, its chapters are not chronologically arranged. Muslim writers themselves admit that even many of its verses do not stand chronologically in the text. But throughout the whole book we can see, although somewhat dimly, into the workings of Muhammad's mind as it struggles with those doubts which echoed the cavils of unbelievers, and yet so often soars upwards on the wings of ecstatic faith.

The first are short rhapsodies, which may have been composed by Muhammad before the incident in the cave, and before he had any conception of a divine commission. Among these we find that which now forms the first chapter of the Koran, and which is as common among Muslims as the Lord's Prayer among Christians. It forms part of their daily liturgy, it is used as an enchantment against evil, it solemnizes their weddings, it dignifies their burials, it is recited for gifts of healing, it is said as an intercession of the

souls of the departed. This very necessary chapter is known as *Al Fatihah*, "the initial," and runs thus:—

"Praise be to God, Lord of all the worlds!
The compassionate, the merciful
King on the day of judgment.
Thee only do we worship, and to Thee do we cry.
Guide Thou us in the right path."

In the second period are the earlier effusions of "the prophet" after the incident in the cave and when he believed himself to be a commissioned apostle. The most celebrated of these chapters is the one known as the "chapter of the unity," and which is also part of the liturgy. It reads thus:—

"Say: He is God alone:
God is the eternal.
He begetteth not.
He is not begotten.
There is none like unto Him."

The third period marks a distinct decline in the prophet's loftiness of aim. These chapters were evidently recorded while Muhammad was hesitating between a compromise with idolatry, the adoption of the Jewish religion, or the foundation of a formulated creed. To the student of comparative religion they are the most interesting chapters in the whole book, for they reveal the perturbed spirit of inquiry which agitated the prophet's breast. The inconsistencies in these chapters do not, as many assert, affect the sincerity of Muhammad's character; they merely reveal the uncertainty of the prophet's belief and the conflicting circumstances of his life, which in the end made him the religious leader of a nation instead of a humble seeker after truth.

In the fourth period we have a number of long chapters, in which are incorporated the narratives of his Jewish Scriptures, with a large admixture of rabbinical and Arab legends.

The fifth and last period embraces those lengthened chapters in which are embodied a distinct religious system, with vivid pictures of the day of Resurrection and of the punishments of hell. The 57th Soorah, known as the chapter of the Resurrection, belongs to this period, and is considered by Arabic scholars to be the most perfect specimen of Arabic composition. It may be translated:—

"But man chooseth to go astray as to his future.
He asketh, 'When is this day of judgment?'
When the eyesight shall be dazzled
And the moon shall be darkened
And the sun and the moon shall clash,
Then will he cry, 'O whither shall I flee.'"

The grandeur of this passage is lost in the translation. It is this rhetorical style which has become the favorite model of the later Arabs, and is that employed in the "Arabian Nights." The Koran, in fact, is the model of all Arabic composition, for not only does the book contain verses which have become the recognized standard of Arabic poets, but even its prose chapters have remained the standard of classical purity wherever the Arabic tongue is known.

It is in this that the Koran displays the true greatness of Muhammad. The language of the Koran was, with some dialectical differences, the spoken language of the people in the days of the prophet. But Muhammad took the language from the lips of the people, and wielded it with the power of a master mind. Thus he made "the book" such a perfect emporium of the Arabic tongue that for twelve centuries its one claim to inspiration, in the minds of Muslims, has been that its style, language, and diction are divine. For the Muhammadan never attempts to prove the inspiration of his Koran. "That," he will say, "is as self-evident as the existence of God himself."

When Muhammad died, the Koran, as a volume, was not in existence. The prophet had written (or caused to be written) his utterances on leaves of dates, on pieces of white bone, and on smooth white stones, but there is no evidence that he really contemplated the collection of the whole into a volume. He seems rather to have depended (like all Oriental teachers) upon the oral transmission of his sayings by devoted followers. And it is not generally known that over and above the contents of the Koran there are some thousands of such sayings carefully recorded and incorporated in seven great books of Tradition.¹ The necessity for collecting the words of the prophet occurred to his successor, Abu Bakar, and he instructed Zaid, who had been Muhammad's secretary, to make a careful collation. Zaid said he found the revelations upon date-leaves, the breasts of men, and on white stones and bones. Zaid performed his duties with great care, and distinguished the writings of the Koran from the fact that (with

¹ It is the belief of every Muslim, whether Sunni, Sheeah, or Wahhabi, that in addition to the Koran their prophet received what is called an "unread revelation," whereby he was enabled to give authoritative declarations on all religious questions, moral, ceremonial, and doctrinal. These traditions are supposed to be the uninspired record of inspired sayings, and consequently occupy a totally different position to what we understand by "tradition" in the Christian Church. These traditions are called *Ahadees*, sayings, or *Sunan* customs. — See *Dictionary of Islam*, article TRADITION.

the exception of the ninth chapter) each portion of the revelation was superscribed with the words "in the name of the merciful and compassionate God." The whole manuscript was carefully arranged by Zaid, who placed the longer chapters first, without any regard to their chronological order. Abu Bakar intrusted the precious manuscript to the charge of Hafsah, who was a widow of the prophet, and the daughter of Omar. The Caliph Omar was a man of war, and, having been a companion of the prophet, was able to quote the prophet's sayings for the guidance of the Muslims of his day. But his successor, Othman, the third caliph, was a studious and literary man, and it is to him that the Muslim world is indebted for the publication of the Koran in a volume, about twenty-four years after the prophet's death. Several copies were made from the one in Hafsah's possession, and no one now doubts that, after a lapse of twelve centuries, we have that very Koran which Zaid collected only a few years after Mohammad's decease. There is probably no other book in the world which for twelve centuries has maintained so pure a text, for there are practically no variations in the readings of the Koran, whilst our own inspired Bible has very many various readings. It is true that the Sheea Muslims of Persia assert that changes have been made, but the charge has never been sustained.

The first English translation of the Koran was produced by a clergyman of the Church of England named Alexander Ross. This versatile divine was quite a notable in his day, and is referred to by Butler, in his "*Hudibras*," as a busy, various, and voluminous writer. He died in 1654, and must have published his Koran when Cromwell was Protector of England. It was a perilous thing in those Puritan times to meddle with false systems of religion; but Mr. Ross had the courage and the enterprise to render the French translation of the Koran by André Du Ruyer into pretty vigorous English, although it did but poorly reflect the meaning of the original Arabic. But to secure himself against the charge of heresy, and from the possibility of being burnt, beheaded, or imprisoned, the Rev. Alexander Ross gave an undoubted guaranty for his orthodoxy in the manifest bigotry of his Preface. It stood thus:—

"GOOD READER,

The great Arabian imposter now at last after a thousand years
is by way of France arrived in England — and his

ALKORAN,

or Gallirnanfry of Errors (a brat as deformed as his parent, and as full of heresies as his scald head was full of scurf) hath learnt to speak English."

Astonished as we are in the present day at the vulgarity of such language and its coarse invective, we must admit that it, to some extent, represents that latent feeling of repugnance and aversion with which everything connected with the religion of Muhammad is still estimated. Christian people will discuss with leniency and tolerance such non-Christian systems as Buddhism, Hinduism, or the teachings of Confucius, but regard everything connected with Muhammad and his religion as too vile for a favorable consideration. Such strange prejudice can only be accounted for by heredity. The blood of the Crusader still flows in our veins.

Mr. George Sale, however, in the year 1734, brought out his well-known English Koran with a very careful exposition of the Muslim faith. But as he had not protected himself after the manner of Mr. Alexander Ross aforesaid, Sir James Potter and others actually set on foot a movement for the prosecution of Mr. Sale for blasphemy. Sale's Koran is still widely sold, and reprints are issued nearly every year. We have also an English translation by Mr. Rodwell, a clergyman of the Church of England, and a more recent one by the lamented Professor Palmer, of Cambridge, who fell in his country's service on an Arabian desert. Palmer's translation is by far the most correct of the three, but as Rodwell's gives the chapters in their chronological order it is best adapted for the student of comparative religion.

It is remarkable that in his compilation of his Koran Muhammad received so little from Christianity. He knew absolutely nothing of the Christian sacraments, and was but imperfectly informed as to the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity. He seems never to have heard of St. Paul, nor to have ever had in his possession a complete copy of the New Testament Scriptures. But his estimate of Christ is a high one, for according to the Koran the Saviour of mankind is "the Spirit of God," "the Word," and "the Messiah." It is very evident that Muhammad, as an earnest seeker after truth, failed to learn anything from Arabian Christianity, and was compelled to seek what little light he could from the Rabbinical teachings of the Jews. To quote the words of Dr. Marcus Dodds: "Had Muhammad known his own ignorance as well as his knowledge, the world would have had one religion less and Christianity would have had one more reformer."

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LEBANON SPRINGS, NEW YORK.

SHAKESPEARIAN CONTROVERSY.

THE discussion which has been carried on for some years with increasing interest is beginning to have an importance of its own apart from its subject. Already it has become wide enough to have a literature and a bibliographer, Mr. J. H. Wyman of Cincinnati, who reports the whole number of books, pamphlets, and review articles up to the present year as 363. Of these there are : for Shakespeare, 168 ; against Shakespeare, 119 ; unclassified, 76. About twenty titles more will be added very soon, which, with newspaper articles of considerable length, and papers read before clubs and societies, will swell the total to nearly, or quite, four hundred. In view of this it may reasonably be concluded that the controversy is likely to become an episode in the history of literature, if not one of its curiosities.

There will be differences of view as to the consequence of this wordy war ; but a question which can present such an array of combatants is likely to have a celebrity that will give it a value to all who have an interest in historic doubts. Those who are best informed tell us that the dispute is increasing by reason of new, if not commercial, elements that have recently found their way into it on both sides of the Atlantic. It may be prolonged like the hundred years' war on the Homeric question, but with the difference that that was carried on by here and there a skirmisher, while this is a hand-to-hand fight in which hundreds have joined. For this reason one might hastily say that it is of the kite and crow order, a broil of the bourgeois, and beneath attention. Such, indeed, has been the lofty serenity with which eminent Shakespearians have tried to look down upon the turmoil of the commonalty. Only one of them, however, has been able to prove his indifference by silence and persistent refusal to be drawn into the quarrel. And even he has been badgered into muttering that silence or derisive laughter is the only treatment the cipher argument deserves. The likelihood of his being drawn out on higher ground is as great as his ability to contend successfully on any question of Shakespearian authorship.

The importance of a question, however, is not always determined by a few prominent champions on the one hand, nor, on the other, is its inferiority established by the fact that the rank and file have not been able to restrain themselves from joining in the general engagement. Military history does not show us that the

great captains have uniformly reserved the grandest issues for their personal encounters, or that it is always a trivial question that causes the commons to rise in their might. May it not be, as in this instance, that because of the widespread interest in the subject there is something about it of profounder significance than the singular methods of discussion employed might indicate, namely, a jealous sense of justice for the rights of our greatest poet on the part of the majority, and on that of the minority a sentiment that, if by any chance the true author has been defrauded for three centuries, a tardy recognition of his claim is better than continued refusal? It is, therefore, because the plays are the common heritage of English-speaking people, that the discussion has a race and cosmic value. Certainly our German cousins have not been slow to claim ten parts in our king, and the Gaul has atoned for the lateness of his tribute by its heartiness at last. Add to this the fact that whoever this poet was he was so great as to touch every heart that can be touched at all, and it is easy to see that the universal moral sense is quickened when a doubt is raised as to his name and personality. Therefore fairness will accord to all parties a desire to establish the rights of authorship, no one of which can have a more enduring value than the grateful recognition of successive generations in ever-widening areas.

But while the essential dignity of the discussion is conceded, it could be wished that some of its features were as noble as its aim. That they do not seem to be, is possibly due to the attempt to unsettle a time-honored conviction. Undisturbed for two hundred and fifty years, it had come to be not so much a belief as a self-evident truth which the unquestioning faith of our forefathers held along with the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch and the Pauline authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews. They would as soon have said that Bunyan did not write the "Pilgrim's Progress," and that Defoe was not the author of "Robinson Crusoe," as that Shakespeare did not write the dramas bearing his name. As for the acumen that has discovered that he did not, because of sundry obscure references in them to the Viscounty of St. Albans, they would just as readily have admitted that the pilgrim from the City of Destruction was a policeman, because he mentions a certain "Den" on which he lighted, or that the "Adventures" were the experience of the savage whose tracks were discovered on an unlucky day of the week. It is the axiomatic character of the Shakespearian authorship that makes attempts to uproot it appear insane to the Anglican understanding. Nor is

this impression weakened by the exertions that have been made to find a place to insert the lever for that purpose to the best advantage, recalling the busy and versatile movements of the nocturnal Brownies. Not that there is no sober purpose in most of these efforts to reconstruct public opinion. Aimless mirth is the last accusation that can be brought against Mr. Palmer's midnight toilers. They are terribly in earnest.

Moreover, some of these crude methods must be attributed to the imperfection of pioneer work. The hardy spirits who dare to lead in such an enterprise are not always those whose judgment is the strongest of their faculties. A large faith based upon conjecture runs before most discoveries, be they valuable or worthless. He has it who loads his ship with shining sand as well as he who freights with gold dust. Such an aptitude for hypothesis seems to have belonged to the early delvers in this mine. Who was the first one?

An interesting account might be given of the men who unconsciously have come very near making a great discovery, and have just missed of it. Had the Reverend James Townley understood the full import of that farce of his he could have antedated this controversy by eighty-eight years. To be sure its beginning would have been as humble as a basement kitchen, dramatically considered; but when we remember that Bonaparte's loss of Waterloo has been attributed to a disordered cuisine, who shall assert that it is a low place for the genesis of an historic doubt? Perhaps more unbelief than we imagine might be traced to a similar source. It will be remembered that the farce was called "High Life Below Stairs," and that Literature being discussed by the servants then as now, it was asked, "Who wrote Shik-spur?" and when one is made to answer that Ben Jonson wrote it, and another Kolly Kibber, why could not the author have seen that the wings of his invention were brushing close upon the borders of an undiscovered country full of splendid uncertainty. Or why did not some frequenter of Drury Lane, in 1760, pick up the suggestive passage,—some Boswell, Burke, or Blackstone, any one of whom might have been present as a theatre-going young man of the day. Indeed, Boswell has been obscurely hinted at in connection with this doubt, but it will be as difficult to find any definite statement of it in his writings as in Horace Walpole's "Historic Doubts." Disraeli's Lord Cadurcis, in "Venetia," supposed to represent Lord Byron, is made to say, "Did Shakespeare write half the plays attributed to him? I doubt it. I take him

to have been an inspired adapter and botcher-up of old plays. His popularity is of modern date, and all that bears his name is alike admired. For my part, I abhor your irregular geniuses." Although this last sentiment is hardly Byronic, the doubt in regard to authorship proceeds no farther than to make some of it a joint affair with other writers, — which is admitted by any one acquainted with the literary habits of playwrights. But up to 1837 there had been no substitution of another name for Shakespeare's. Nor was there in the book which, eleven years later, was written by Colonel Joseph C. Hart on "Yachting." In the *Lethe* chapter, however, he promulgates a theory that, born at sea, may be called a second Pelagian heresy. "Alas, Shakespeare, *Lethe* is upon thee! Thou hast had thy century. Better men are about having theirs. . . . He was not a mate of the literary characters of his day, and it is a fraud to thrust his surreptitious fame upon us. He had none that was worthy of being transmitted. The inquiry will sometime be, Who were the able literary men who wrote the dramas imputed to him?" This was forty years ago, and the yachtsman was drifting alarmingly near that tropic line which divides the temperate and the torrid zones of this dispute. But he did not venture across it and give names to the bright islands of whose existence he was certain. The anonymous writer in "*Chambers' Edinburgh Journal*," in 1852, was a trifle more specific, but finally abandoned his theory regarding the nameless and needy student of whom the commercially inclined Shakespeare purchased the plays and then affixed his own name to them. Four years more passed before the personage was discovered who had been hidden under the mask of the great dramatist for two and a half centuries. Like other great discoveries, the suggestions of this one had been in the very air, and therefore it was not strange that two persons at least should claim the honor of receiving the first direct revelation. And then followed a controversy, not only as to who was the author of the plays, Shakespeare or Bacon, but also as to whether Mr. William Henry Smith or Miss Delia Bacon first brought the claims of Lord Verulam to public notice. At the time it was decided in favor of Miss Bacon, although Mr. Smith has recently reaffirmed his opinions with cumulative evidence to sustain them. It was something in favor of his little volume, printed for private circulation, that it had made a convert of Lord Palmerston.

But a great mystery had been solved. It was now known to whom, of all the brilliant coterie that used to gather at the Mer-

maid Tavern, belonged the distinction of Shakespearian authorship. Faed's familiar engraving is misleading. It is not the man in velvet doublet in the central foreground, with a book in one hand and a gesture in the other. That is well enough for an actor; but the writer of the plays is the one before whom lie, most properly, inkstand, pen, and paper. It may be that a prior claim for John Faed, as a discoverer, will one day be established by the "significants" which he placed before Lord Bacon in the middle distance of his famous picture in true historical perspective.

Common consent, however, if not courtesy, accords to the woman who bears his name the credit of first publicly maintaining that Bacon wrote the plays, although she was not a descendant of his. She did not need this last distinction in this country, where her family connections are known. A native of Ohio, a teacher in Connecticut, a lecturer, a writer of a story and a drama, she is best remembered as an accomplished woman, who believed that the Shakespearian plays contained hidden writings and meanings. Her article in "Putnam's Magazine" of July, 1856, declaring her conviction, may be considered as the first public proclamation of the Baconian theory. It was a surprise. The editor deemed it prudent to disavow his responsibility for the views maintained, while hoping to have future articles on the subject. He did not get them. Miss Bacon wanted no half acceptance of her theory. She told Hawthorne as much when he tried to be gracious where he could not be credulous, and dismissed him with the assurance that he was not worthy to meddle with her work, as he surely had no wish to. Hoping to find material evidences of her hypothesis concealed in Shakespeare's grave, under the protection of the terrible epitaph, and being well advanced toward the attempt, her convictions at length began to falter, and she feared to risk the disappointment consequent upon lifting the stone and finding nothing beneath it. Still, not able to break away from the strange enchantment of the place, she haunted the church by night and day until a sort of weariness began to fall upon her. Overburdened with oppressive ideas about the hidden philosophy of the plays, and with a crushing sense of the stupendous mission imposed upon herself, she was thrown off her mental balance, justifying the blunt postscript which Carlyle added to his letter to Emerson after an interview with her: "Your woman's mad." It proved too true, and she was sent home to Hartford, in the spring of 1858, to die in the early autumn of the following year.

A writer gives the theme and thread of her argument (as far as he can make it out from what he calls the obscure verbiage and inconsequential reasoning in which she has folded up her ideas) as follows:— There was a body of men in the days of Elizabeth and James devoted to the cause of freedom and human advancement. It was necessary to conceal the new light which it was their mission to shed upon the world, but in such a way that, while it was concealed from tyrants, it should be discernible to the gifted eye, and be revealed in due time to the sagacity of future generations. This, therefore, was hidden under the veil of Lord Bacon's cipher-writing, — he being the master-mind of the association which was to transmit to the future a new and all-comprehensive science of life and practice. In the "Advancement of Learning," and "Hamlet"; in the "Novum Organon," and "Lear," the interpretation is best found, and in other plays to some extent. It was the object of Miss Bacon's work to furnish the key to these hidden doctrines. Besides, it was supposed all through Elizabeth's reign that a double treasonable movement was going on, first to depose her, and then to enthrone the Queen of Scots.

In the researches of Mrs. Ashmead Windle, Miss Bacon's successor, the controversy falls below the high plane of an occult significance in the dramas to that of its secret communication by cryptography, and from the hidden philosophy of Sir Walter Raleigh to cabalistic cipher-writing. This legacy from the darker ages, concerning which Bacon himself had discoursed in the "De Augmentis," was to prove an invaluable key to the seekers after the true teachings of the plays. The book which Mrs. Windle dedicated in soaring phrase to the trustees of the British Museum contains "the report of the discovery and opening of this cipher employed by Francis Bacon for the purpose of his identification with the supernal volume of dramas which it was the whole object of his being during the last twenty years of his life to perfect and transmit as his testimonial and memorial to all time."

There is a frankness in this avowal of the writer's confidence in her discovery that wellnigh forces conviction. But just as the assent is finding lodgment it is rapt away by that "Ariel, which now in the fullness of to-day springs on golden wings from the encrusting chrysalis of the mask of Shakespeare and mounts toward the infinite empyrean"! But whither so high, and wherefore? For it is only of the two first letters of the alphabet that she is speaking in such elevated terms, and their transposition by a rule that Bacon says he discovered in Paris when a youth, but

which was published in a book before he was able to make many discoveries. The cipher looks very much like the b a ba, b e be of the primers, but it is by no means so undignified a matter when the Lord High Chancellor discourses *de ciphra* in his favorite Latin diction. Nor was this cryptogram without its uses; as when Essex is in danger of losing his life for being concerned in the obnoxious play of King Richard II., and he receives a bit of paper on which a and b are arranged by fives in a different order in four groups. He divines that these stand for the four letters of *fuge*,—and he flees. It was not the fault of the cipher that he lost his head at last. But when Mrs. Windle attempts to unlock the political secrets of Elizabeth's reign with this key the investigation takes on such an air of mock mystery, that, for the credit of the inquisitor, we may be permitted to turn aside and await developments. If one of these is the hidden meaning discovered in the title of a play "suggestive of the spirit and presence of the author, but not to be materialized," there is a suspicion of something about it more tangible than a modern spirit manifestation. When, for example, "Titus Andronicus" is made to stammer "Tie t' us and drown a curse," it is to be feared that Mrs. Windle had in mind the tradition that this play was the joint composition of Marlowe, Green, and Shakespeare, working in the vicinity of the Mermaid bar-room, and that the spirit ought not to be materialized lest, as she feared, "it would lose its ideal and supersensuous effect." So of the word "Cyprus," which she at first thought gave a plain hint of the cipher itself, and to cipher it out. Later, however, it had a sadder meaning, with an appeal for sympathy, when it seemed to whisper, "Sigh for us,"—Miss Bacon and Mrs. Windle; for the latter also became unbalanced by too close application to the study of Bacon's life as recorded in the plays.

It will doubtless be a matter of dispute whether the transfer of the deciphering process from the dramas to the inscription on the gravestone was an advance or a retrograde movement. In either case, Mr. Herbert J. Brown has the honor of it, and is able to defend his discovery. Nor is the brevity of the epitaph, as compared with the length of the plays, so great a disadvantage as might be supposed; for the one stanza of doggerel rhyme contains all that we need to know, if the cipher theory is correct.

So many are familiar with the grouping and excision, the selection of the fittest letters and the rejection of the superfluous, that it need not be told by what ingenious process there is evolved

from the "Good Friend for Jesus' sake forbear," etc., the following assertion: "Francis Bacon wrote Shakespeare's plays.—Shaxpere." As one writer gravely remarks: "It is an eye pretty nearly blind that is unable to see a very strange and artful purpose here" in these verses. The chief difficulty, however, is to determine the exact significance of the cryptogram, as it may with equal accuracy be read, "Shakespeare wrote here, Aye, Aye!—Francis Bacon." In this example of *variorum* readings one's preference will be his final authority; but the settlement of the controversy will not be greatly hastened. Nor by Mr. Black's discovery of the value of "significant hyphens" in the original effort of the Stratford stone-cutter, equivalent, he says, to the additional letters H Z Q—"his cue"; nor, again, by Mr. Clark's additional discovery that a hyphen may be treated both as a large and a small letter, making the epitaph tell us that "Francis Bacon wrote here his cue: Aye, Aye.—Shaxpere";—or the reverse. This is by no means all that the gravestone reveals. Taking the letters "re" at the end of "here" in the middle of the stanza as a pivot, there are revolutions and evolutions of pyrotechnic versatility disclosing state and literary secrets so many and so various that one wonders if the epitaph and the cipher are not all that is needed to display the myriad-mindedness of the great dramatist. The poetry compacted in those four lines is equaled only by their vast possibilities of revelation. The incantation of the Witches, the soliloquy of Hamlet, the funeral oration of Antony—and all the rest of Shakespeare, may be there for him who has the open vision and can gather the "harvest of a quiet eye." But it must be allowed that the character of the controversy is not greatly elevated by a cryptic criticism which appears to be in a decline, and literally to have one foot in the grave already.

From the word-cipher it is but a step to ciphering with figures to find cipher words, and Mr. Donnelly's efforts mark the latest achievements in this direction. It is not so difficult to understand so much of his method as he has allowed to be printed as to see why he does not publish the book for which the world has been waiting. Like the Painter in "Timon," everybody is asking, "When comes your book forth?" and if he should answer with the Poet, "Upon the heels of my presentment, Sir," the retort is obvious that four and a half years is a respectful distance for an ordinary book to maintain between its prospectus and its publication. The latest promise of the publishers fixes the date of publication as May 1. Whether the public thirst is not feverish enough, or whether

there has been an error in the calculations, or possibly some faltering in the author's faith in his numerical theory, cannot be conjectured with certainty. But the appetizing scraps thrown to a curious and eager public have contributed largely to an increasing interest in this question, besides indicating the nature of the evidence on which he rests the Baconian claim.

There is much to admire in the assurance with which he says that "Bacon knew that sooner or later some one would notice this concatenation of 'Francis,' 'Bacon,' 'Nicholas,' 'Baconfed,' 'Shakes,' 'spear,' and the infinite 'shakes,' 'spurs,' 'spears,' and 'spheres,' scattered through the plays, and would match all this with what he had said about ciphers in the 'De Augmentis'; and that the discoverer having once started upon the scent would never give it up until he had dug out the cipher." The wonder is that the great philosopher's foresight did not embrace the date of the discovery and the discoverer's name, nationality, and place of residence.

The ingenuity of the process by which the above-named significant words are subjected to the dominion of mathematical law deserves attention. So likewise does the originality of invention, which finds that the significant word always occupies a place on the page — in the Folio of 1623 — indicated by the product of the page number and the number of italicised words on that page. What faith and patience are manifested in taking, for example, the 53d page of the Folio, picking out the seven italic words on it, and counting from the top to find that the 371st word is Bacon! Sometimes, indeed, it is necessary to count from the bottom of the page, if the other order is not satisfactory; but the number from some point to some other point generally indicates some important word, or, if it does not, by complicating the problem more or less, something satisfactory can be extracted. With these catch-words or significant words for the framework, an active and fertile imagination can supply with reasonable certainty what Bacon ached to tell posterity. Thus, after finding the italicised words in the following example by the above process, the inventor's judgment supplies the rest to make such sense as Bacon doubtless intended to convey: "I was in the *greatest* fear that they would *say* that the *image shown upon* the title leaf of *his volume* was but a *mask* to hide my *own* face." He refers to the likeness of Shakespeare in the Folio. It would merely illustrate the marvelous capabilities of this method if a little change should be made in the unitalicised words to express a fear lest the *image* of Mr. Donnelly that appeared in a recent issue of the New York "World" is but a *mask* to hide

his own or his publisher's interest in the promised volume. Other equally significant sentences can be constructed in this way by an imaginative mathematician. In spite of its adaptability, however, the author of this system of computation has a right to his conclusive question: "Can any man believe that this is the result of accident?" And, also, to his opinion expressed in the following words: "I have no hesitation in saying that the publication of my book will convince the world that these plays are the most marvelous specimens of ingenuity and adroitness (to say nothing of genius, power, and attainments) ever put forth by the wit of man." Truly, no one is better able to appreciate ingenuity and kindred qualities than Mr. Donnelly, and he can fortify his conclusions, like the Friar in "*Much Ado*," with "Observations, which with experimental zeal do warrant the tenour of my book."

A few things which militate against the arithmetical cipher method of discovery must be mentioned, or the controversy will appear to be one-sided. For example: The difference in the paging of authentic copies of the Folio would disturb the calculations of ordinary computers; the special characters cut in wood on which Bacon based his cipher, for which modern printers of his works have substituted common type; the unfortunate circumstance that the events revealed by the cipher in the Folio had not taken place when the Quarto, of which it is a copy, was printed twenty years before, to say nothing of the different paging of the two imprints. Furthermore, when the Folio was printed, Bacon's ambitious schemes were all over, for it was only three years before his death.

But the weightiest of Mr. Donnelly's reasons bear a striking similarity to those of a class of Baconians who argue the question on a higher plane than the cryptogrammic. Indeed, they regret that his cipher has been mixed up with their independent theories and discoveries. Still, we may regard him as symbolizing a transition from the lower levels of the occult significants to the higher one of plausible objections to hitherto received opinion. Certainly his versatility fits him to lead us from one line of defense to another. The chief of these objections, and the one that appears to have been the first to disturb the ancient assent, evidently belongs to the pioneer period of historical criticism. Like other forms of skepticism, it was flushed with its early success, and is now reluctant to have its first and hasty generalizations replaced by later discoveries. Yet, in literature as in science, this must sometimes be submitted to. Looking more closely into the life and times of

the dramatist than had been the custom, it occurred to early investigators that there is an unaccountable discrepancy between the position and surroundings of this yeoman youth of Stratford and the productions of his pen. The very name he bore was once so low that an Oxford student had exchanged it for Sanders in the preceding century. The rank and occupation of the poet's father, his own apprenticeship to a butcher, his rough conviviality, his escapades, his scanty education, all pointed away from eminence in letters. These considerations enter largely into all the controversy, and changes are rung upon the poet's unfavorable environments, so fatal to success. Another stock argument is, that Shakespeare left no documentary evidence of his authorship. No manuscript has come down to us in his handwriting, nor a signature on any fly-leaf. It has even been asserted that the extant specimens of his autograph show that they were attempts to follow different copies that had been set for him! Another form of the argument is, that the plays show vast erudition, and must have been composed by the most learned man of the times; and it is easy to say who that man was. As a confirmation of this, parallel passages of similar import are cited from the works of Lord Bacon and from the plays, thus settling the question of identity of authorship by the infallible proof of internal harmony and correspondence.

It is natural that these disagreements should attract the notice of early criticism. They were the surface facts, or fiction, and easiest to discover. But when a later and profounder research began to delve below the unpromising upper soil, richer veins were struck, as will appear further on. The prospecting party, however, have clung to their early discoveries with remarkable tenacity, and refuse to follow the leadings of their own logic beyond first conclusions. Shakespeare was an ignorant country boor. The plays show great learning. Therefore he did not write them. If he had been the author, he, or his admiring contemporaries, would have taken care to preserve autograph copies, to be the priceless inheritance of posterity. There are no such manuscripts; therefore Shakespeare is a myth.

It will be observed that this party is agnostic. It does not know; the documents being lost and the witnesses dead some two hundred and fifty years, it would throw the burden of proof where it does not belong. But, fortunately, these agnostic and superficial methods are not binding upon all parties in the controversy. Others, accordingly, have been to Stratford, and to Henly Street, and the King's School and Trinity Church, finding what

the first found, but, better, what they did not find through lack of interest or inclination : first, that the youth of Shakespeare did not greatly differ from that of other young Englishmen in provincial towns out of which, however, have come many illustrious names in literature and statecraft. Americans who are troubled about the poet's early environments may remember that Abraham Lincoln — a greater statesman and orator than Francis Bacon — passed his youth amid surroundings far inferior to those of William Shakespeare. As to the schools of his day, if they did not boast a rambling curriculum, they were exacting in that linguistic training which is favorable to authorship. But then, as now, a man's best education came with his entrance upon his professional career, and the facilities for a dramatist's discipline were to be found in the theatres of the metropolis and among his fellow-craftsmen. "Brave men lived before Agamemnon," and learning is not the exclusive property of our own times, as we know from what Robert Burton says of the sources of knowledge extant in his day and Shakespeare's, and of the habits of reading and study in the period of the Renaissance ; and a mind like the poet's could not fail to appropriate its share of the drift-learning of the time, — an age in which, as Matthew Arnold says, "there was a current of ideas animating and nourishing the creative power, and a world full of fresh thought." So that it is possible that Shakespeare was a well-informed man, at least, even for our self-complacent century. At any rate, he was not a man to reject any useful material that came in his way ; and what of current knowledge was not touched upon by the two hundred and seventy plays that manager Henslowe purchased in ten years was not of much account. The amount of special erudition displayed in the dramas argues more for the man of general information than for the philosopher, in spite of all the citations that have been made, with greater or less relevancy, to show Shakespeare's acquaintance with medical, legal, and physical science. They are the skillfully used scraps of a well-informed man's learning rather than the exact statements of a scientist of that day even ; and the inaccuracies of his technical knowledge point to the poet rather than to the philosopher. So also does the profounder understanding of the human heart and of the spiritual and moral laws in the natural world, which Bacon was slow to perceive, if not to heed.

After all, it may not be so much a question of comparative learning as of the possession of the faculty that transmutes commonplace material into marvelous fabrics, and which will easier

account for all that surprises and pleases us in the plays than methodical erudition. The *nascitur* and the *fit* of the Horatian dictum will each have its advocates here, differing as widely as the Gaul and the Teuton; but an Anglican like Coleridge will reconcile the two by claiming both "unconscious genius" and a varied, if not a profound, learning for our greatest poet. The genius is evident enough to any one who admits that there is such a thing to which, at long intervals, one and another is *born*. How far this poet was *made* we must gather from testimony like Ben Jonson's and the other one hundred and twelve contemporary notices that have been collected. Leonard Digges spoke for the majority when he wrote: "His verse will keep him young for all time, and every verse will arise anew, and the poet be redeemed from the grave."

The great emphasis that has been laid on the lack of autograph manuscripts of the plays is another indication that early investigations stopped where it was desirable to go no further. A little research, if not reflection, would have shown to what hard treatment a manuscript play was subjected in the hands of the actors and, later, of the printers. It is forgotten that the play itself was regarded as an ephemeral thing, cut up and distributed until memorized; or, if worth preserving, turned over to printers whose copy of it, poor as it was in the Quartos and Folios, superseded the manuscript. Much as Shakespeare was esteemed by his fellows, the sentiment that would beg his autograph is of recent growth. No one would have marveled more than the dramatist himself that the first printed copy of "Much Ado About Nothing" would ever bring \$1,338 in the world's curiosity shops. The title would have had a new meaning for him. Or that a copy of the first edition of his collected plays printed seven years after his death should two hundred and seventy-one years later be held at six thousand dollars in the London market. Or, more amazing still, that a supposed signature, "authentic enough for the generality of mankind," pasted into one of these volumes should add fifty thousand dollars to its value! But neither poet nor printer knew the value of the "copy," and if the Quarto and Folios are a survival of the fittest type, we need not ask what became of the manuscript, nor say as they used to at Stratford that the puritan daughter Judith burnt a whole chest-full on account of certain passages which came under the same condemnation as theatres in the period of the Commonwealth.

It is an indication of the downward trend in this attack upon

the Shakespearian authorship that it is continually falling into pettiness. The "parallel passage" argument is not much above that of the cipher. The sixteen hundred and fifty-five notes of resemblances between expressions in certain "memorandums of words, phrases, proverbs," etc., in Bacon's "Promus" and passages in the plays which one computer made, constitute the longest and weakest link in the Baconian argument. When Bacon wrote in his commonplace book, "A catt may look at a Kynge," was he therefore the author of "Romeo and Juliet" because Tybalt is there called the prince of cats? Or when he quotes the proverb concerning the "ring of gold in a swine's snout," does the "rich jewel of the Ethiop's ear" prove that these were fancies of the same brain? And was the salutation "Good morning" the sign-mark of one distinguished writer alone in the reigns of Elizabeth and James, showing that he is the author of all the books in which it occurs? If so, then many books must be added to Bacon's voluminous works. This, indeed, is seriously maintained by several who regard him as the great thought-manufacturer of his age who generously labeled his fabrics with the names of his contemporaries, as Marlowe, Green, Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, Nash, Decker, and other brilliants who circled around Raleigh and the Earl of Southampton.

The chief difficulty with the proof by parallelisms is that, like the cipher, it is too accommodating. The same process shows as conclusively that Herbert Spencer is the author of Dickens's works, by comparing "Social Statics" with "Pickwick," and that Byron wrote "Paradise Lost," and Darwin "Childe Harold's Pilgrimage." Further than this, it has been demonstrated very clearly that this rule of identification works both ways, and by its retaliatory operation Shakespeare has been discovered to be the real author of the "Novum Organum" and the "Advancement of Learning." But absurdities on either side do not help the cause of either. The claim of each for his own peculiar honor rests in the evident unlikeness of two great minds as reflected in their respective writings: the one having a large knowledge of humanity and external nature, — intuitive, imaginative, and free in every phrase; the other stored with facts and reasons and theories set forth in stately Latinity and in formal array. Each bore fruit after his kind, but the kinds were as diverse as the tree of life and the tree of knowledge. And either one did enough of his own work and well enough not to need the other's renown.

From a brief survey of attempts to throw doubt on the author-

ship it must be concluded that their inherent value does not lie in the *methods* of attack, even if the purpose of it be high and worthy. As a rule, these methods exhibit the inferior phases of critical research, or if rising above the level of trivialities, they too often stop short of the highest attainment, giving occasion to imagine that a preconceived theory is to be supported and established by half truths and occult significances. So long as defense is needful, it also will have to deal with such unheroic methods, unless it can lead the contest up to higher levels and keep it there. It can then safely await the issue on such grounds as the natural endowments of the poet improved by whatever advantages the Elizabethan age afforded its literary men; the mighty personality which cannot be confounded with that of any man who has had such biographers as Bacon's. And, on the other side, so far as his lordship is concerned, the most significant cipher in his works is the unmistakable imprint of his own personality, as discernible as the stationer's water-mark on every page of his "Essays," his "History," and his "New Atlantis"; but which cannot be seen on Shakespeare's page, unless the scrutinizer carry the impression in his eye from a long and needless staring at Bacon's cipher.

There should be no stronger proof of this individuality of each than that afforded by specimens of their verse placed side by side. For Bacon's we must take what his best biographer says are the only verses of the philosopher's making that have come down to us, and, probably, with one or two slight exceptions, the only ones he ever wrote, namely, a paraphrase of certain psalms which he was not at all backward about publishing as his own, whatever modest reserve he may have had about acknowledging the authorship of the plays. The first psalm is a fair sample of his poetry:—

"Who never gave to wicked reed
A willing and attentive ear;
Who never sinner's paths did tread,
Nor sat him down in scorner's chair;
But maketh it his whole delight
On law of God to meditate,
And therein spendeth day and night;
That man is in a happy state."

One stanza will answer for all the rest.

It is not so easy to make a selection from Shakespeare's variety to compare with this; for the dramatist is really brought into competition with the Psalmist as well as with Bacon the paraphrast; but perhaps the prayer of Richmond on the eve of his battle with Richard III. will have a sufficiently Davidic spirit.

"O, Thou, whose captain I account myself,
Look on my forces with a gracious eye ;
Put in their hands thy bruising irons of wrath,
That they may crush down with a heavy fall
The usurping helmets of our adversaries !
Make us thy ministers of chastisement,
That we may praise thee in thy victory !
To thee I do commend my watchful soul,
Ere I let fall the windows of mine eyes ;
Sleeping and waking, O, defend me still."

Possibly a better selection might be made, but this will do to place beside Bacon's verse. But what becomes of the only parallelisms that are worth tracing, namely, those of thought and its adequate expression? Evidently, in all that constitutes true poetry here, one writer is at home and the other is out of his element.

Is it possible that in addition to a petty and partial method of treatment there is also a little of destructive criticism at work here — the spirit which throws down whatever has long been revered on the pretext that idolatry is born of antiquity, and that whatever was not worshiped in its own day should not be in ours? Criticism may be what is claimed for it, — the glory of this age ; but there are certain aspects of it that are not so glorious. Because we do not live in an epoch like that of Sophocles or Shakespeare, must our idols be cast down to prove that critical Alexandria can distinguish itself as well as creative Athens, or the London of Elizabeth and James? This is not to be said of the just discrimination that tests, sifts, and compares all that has been recorded of our heroes, separating the apocryphal from the authentic, even though it resolve the splendor of their afterglow into common mist. And, later, they will bear the flare of our lanterns as well as they bore the light of their own day ; and we may turn all the light we can upon them. But we may not judge them by the darkness which we cannot entirely illumine, nor by the indistinctness of our vision ; nor again should we discover all sorts of ghosts and fantastic trickery in the dark, jugglery with great names and mystic signs. The disordered vision that sees such shapes indicates an overstrain of the critical faculty in one direction at least, and that a change of attitude and occupation would be wholesome. To get, for example, into the current and sweep of this literature about whose authorship and hidden meanings and various readings one may be so careful and curious as to lose the spirit in the letter. Instead of running up and down to see what weeds and shells the

waves have left, how would it do to let the sea-water break over one without analysis? It may be that text and tombstone microscopists have so absorbed the tonic influences of the Elizabethan drama that they can now afford to disport themselves with carping and quiddling. But if their achievements thus far are the result of such absorption, we may distrust the value of the too much learning that makes one beside himself and mad.

Again, no notice should be taken of a possible motive that may have some weight with light-headed people, — the vanity of notoriety and a cheap singularity in following the latest craze. Let it stand for what it is worth, although there is more of it than we are apt to imagine.

But if after all there be here and there an honest doubt such as Emerson seems to have had when he said that he could not marry the facts of Shakespeare's life to his verse — but considerably refrained from trying to upset us by a volume or two — for that sort of perplexity it is possible to have a large charity; remembering that such a man as Sir William Drummond thought that the leading object of the Old Testament was to teach astronomy, the twelve patriarchs standing for the twelve signs of the zodiac; while Dr. Townsend believed that the twelve Cæsars were segments of the same circumference; and Davenant, a French critic in the sixteenth century, found all the Bible in Homer, while the Regius professor of Greek at Cambridge in the year 1695 proved to his own satisfaction that King Solomon wrote the Iliad.

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NOTES FROM A GERMAN UNIVERSITY.

A PERIOD of study in a German university has become so frequent a supplement to an American college course that the writer can hope to say little regarding it that is not already familiar to many readers. Yet he believes that his experiences as one of forty-six citizens of the United States now entered on the catalogue of Leipzig may be of aid to some who intend to follow him hither; and it is largely with them in view that he writes.

A German student reckons his university life by *semesters*, or terms, not by years, as does the American undergraduate. Of these *semesters* there are two in each year, popularly called winter and summer. The former begins, nominally, about October 15, and

the latter April 15. Their close is appointed in the university calendar for the middle of March and August, respectively. The nominal beginning and end is not that of the actual course of instruction, however; the lectures seldom commence till about ten days after the date appointed for the opening of the term, and the courses close about as much previous to the official end — thus practically shortening each *semester* from three to four weeks. The actual duration of the instruction is therefore about four months in the winter term and three in the summer. Probably a course of teaching covering only a little more than seven months of the year will seem brief to the average American student, whose curriculum ordinarily requires at least a month longer. The two long German vacations, coming as they do in the pleasantest seasons of the year, afford delightful opportunities for travel; but the German student who is aiming at a degree, and his American brother also, usually spends a considerable portion of these holidays in study, so that the time actually devoted to work by the student who is fairly conscientious is fully equal to that required by an American student.

Entrance to the university can be effected during the opening days of each *semester*. For the American student who can present the diploma of a reputable college, this matriculation involves no examination. His diploma, and in Berlin and Leipzig, where the anti-socialist laws are in force, his passport also, is deposited in the custody of the university; and he will, unless married, be provided forthwith with a card certifying to his studentship and entitling him, in case of trouble with the civil authorities, to trial before the university court rather than by the police justice. Should the would-be student have a wife, his matriculation will be a few days delayed, till permission can be obtained from the government at Dresden. In case of foreigners, however, this is a purely formal matter.

Having thus been accepted as a student, and having shaken hands with the rector of the university, in pledge of his promise to obey its laws, the new-comer's path to all the privileges of the university is free. He will naturally have decided what courses of lectures he wishes to hear by consultation of the *Verzeichniss*, or prospectus of the course of instruction, which is published about the close of the previous term. A further notice on the bulletin board will inform him of the place and day of beginning; and he will probably seek out the room designated and secure a place near the professor's desk, if his understanding of German is

no more ready than that of most beginners, by tacking his card on one of the plain wood benches which constitute the sole furnishing of the auditorium.

If the student intends to take a degree, he must pursue his studies and submit to examination in three not too closely related branches, as, for example, in history, philosophy, and geography, or German, French, and Hebrew literatures. To take different courses in the same subject is often advisable, but they are reckoned together and constitute only one of the three branches necessary for a degree. The smaller universities, such as Göttingen and Jena, require examination in two subjects only. But the student is still a long way from his degree. If he is a German, he must spend at least six terms under the philosophical faculty, and even more if he be a candidate in medicine. Americans are allowed to present themselves for examination in the philosophical department, which embraces languages, natural science, history, and mathematics, as well as philosophy proper, after a single term. The preparation, however, almost invariably requires much longer, the average time required being from three to five full terms.

Attendance on lectures is of course a matter of choice, to a very large degree. There is no system of monitors, no record of attendance, and the number of absences is always very large. But students who are in earnest speedily find that they cannot afford to miss any of the lectures in a valuable course, and the attendance of the better class of German students, though voluntary, is fully as constant as that of good scholars in an American college. The relation of the student to the university and to the professors is purely individual. There are no classes; the faithfulness of each is regulated by his own conscience. His final examination is not with a band of associates and comes at no time specified by law or general custom. He presents his work when he deems it ready, and of that he has to be his own judge. Doubtless this individuality has its disadvantages. The number of students who attain the doctor's degree is small, not over a seventh; but it teaches self-reliance and independence in work.

Yet this very freedom is often a cause of discouragement to the American student, after the pleasure of novelty has worn off. He has been guided in his college course by the suggestions and control of his teachers; the class of which he has been a member was led along a path whose difficulties were pointed out by the instructor; and the extent of his dependence was greater than he was aware. Chief of all, he has had no such training in hunting

up works of reference for himself as is expected of the German student. The average collegian seldom consults anything outside the text-book, unless the passage is specially pointed out and its perusal insisted upon by the instructor. But in a German university he will listen to lectures always thorough and often brilliant, but given by men who, as a rule, have had little experience in class drill, and hence have not the sensitiveness to discern what are the difficult points for an inexperienced mind to grasp, which comes from class-room recitation. The student will be referred to a list of authorities which will constitute a most valuable bibliography for the guidance of his later study, but whose numerousness bewilders him. Then, too, he will hardly know where to look for them. The university library is large, and it allows the students to retain books for four weeks and to draw them in generous number. But it is open only two hours a day; there are no catalogues accessible to the average student, and no corps of assistants designed to supplement his lack of familiarity with the literature of the subject he wishes to investigate. He must learn for himself, and he is often at a loss how to proceed. The system of instruction is so different from anything with which he is familiar, if he is a graduate of any save a very few American colleges, that he often feels bewildered and disappointed as he approaches the end of his first term.

It is here that a second, and comparatively novel, feature of the German university curriculum comes to the aid of the student. That is the *seminar*. A *seminar* is essentially a club, presided over and conducted by a professor, and composed of students admitted to membership on personal application to and approval by the instructor himself, and pledged to take part in its exercises. The *seminar* meets for a couple of hours, usually once a week, and takes up for discussion such questions as the professor may present. These are sometimes given off-hand at the session itself, and then become a searching test of one's familiarity with the general subject, as special preparation is then impossible. Oftener they are announced beforehand, and are discussed before the club by some member who has given weeks of labor to their preparation. More often still the club devotes several sessions to the elucidation of some problem under the guidance of the professor. But in all the exercises the utmost freedom of intercourse prevails between students and teacher. The criticisms of the latter on the quality or accuracy of the work are frequently sharp and almost savage, but the student is free to defend his position, or to ask

questions, or to criticise the work of another. It is a stimulating hour. And here in the *seminar* the student will find guidance and method in his work such as he never could acquire from the lectures alone. The questions are naturally so chosen as to lie in the same range of study as the lecture courses, and the student thus puts into practice what he hears in the auditorium. He gains also an insight into the professor's methods of work and receives most helpful criticisms on his own. The foreigner finds teachers and students alike uniformly cordial and ready to give such help as can reasonably be expected. When, as in the "*Historical Seminar*," the club possesses a large and most valuable library, and its rooms, occupying a whole floor, are fitted up with every requisite for quiet, undisturbed work, and are warmed, lighted and open to the membership from early morning till ten at night, the question of guidance in the selection of books and methods of work, which so discourages the simple lecture goer, ceases to annoy.

The aim of most students is a doctor's degree. Many indeed come here to pursue the study of a single subject, and hence do not care to divide their attention between three branches of knowledge. Others are debarred from the outset by lack of time. But for one who plans to spend two years in Germany, and who is not already an advanced scholar, a course for a degree has many advantages. It gives a point and direction to his efforts which is often wanting when the aim is simply general cultivation; and while mere study for the sake of a degree is no more to be commended than a struggle for high marks in an American college, the strenuous requirements necessary for the attainment of a doctorate act as a safeguard against habits of laziness and of dissipation also. The student who has the ordeal of an examination before him can little afford to absent himself from lectures, or to spend his hours in idleness. He avoids most of the dangers which threaten his companions who have a less tangible end in view.

Having made up his mind as to what line of study he will chiefly pursue, and determined to become a candidate for a degree, the student is brought face to face with the first of the two requirements for its attainment — the preparation of an elaborate and independent essay on some theme of interest to him. He will do well not to be in too great haste to begin its preparation, or much of his work may be thrown away. The first *semester*, at least, should be spent in attendance on several courses of lectures and in gaining familiarity with the methods of study in practice here.

The second half-year will be full soon enough to begin the extreme concentration of attention which such a monograph demands. The choice of a theme is often the result of some discussion in the *seminar* or of personal intercourse with the professors, who will be found kind and helpful in the decision of this question, as in all their relations with the students. But having once determined what shall be the field of his investigations, the student must be prepared to do hard and patient work. No mere college thesis will suffice. Doubtless here, as elsewhere, hasty or superficial productions are occasionally accepted; but in the History department, at least, the German students expect to employ a year in the preparation of an essay, and the American student can hardly do less, with justice to the courses of lectures which he attends at the same time. Nor is the stimulus to careful effort diminished by the knowledge that his work must be printed and will be sent to most of the universities and public libraries of Germany. Fortunately for the foreigner, his essay may be written, in many departments, in his native language, though this is a matter of favor and is no general rule.

The monograph being finished, and the student's preparations for his examination nearly completed, the candidate presents his work to a special officer of the university, with a request that it be submitted to two professors in the department in question for their examination and judgment. Should their criticism be favorable, the officer notifies the student and arranges with him and a professor from each of the three departments in which the candidate presents himself, as to the day and hour of the examination. The relation of the student to the university in this, as in all things else, is individual. He is examined at any time in the term, and he stands or falls alone. Here, in Leipzig, his trial is private, in the presence of no one save the respective professors and a single officer of the university. In certain German universities, for example at Munich, the ancient custom of a public defense of a thesis still survives in the form of a brief open presentation of a second theme, after the real tests of the private examination have been passed; but at Leipzig the usage has been wholly abandoned. The three hours of searching private examination having been successfully sustained, and the 210 copies of the essay required by the university having been delivered to its authorities, the student is announced as a Doctor of Philosophy by a large printed placard on the university bulletin board, giving the title of his essay and a judgment as to its excellence, *idonea*, *laudabilis*, or *admodum*

laudabilis, as the case may be; and a like estimate of his oral examination as passed *rite, cum laude, magna* or *summa cum laude*.

Probably one of the aims which the student has in view, and which would at first sight appear easy of attainment, is the acquisition of the German language for purposes of conversation. If preparation such as is afforded by most colleges in America has been faithfully made he will have little difficulty, from the very first, in following a lecture after a few days' familiarity with the sound of the strange voice. The constant practice of the lecture-room will soon make the taking of ample notes an easy task. But it is otherwise with conversation. The opportunities for talking must be sought, and families who are willing to take boarders, and who also speak good German, are rare. Three methods of living are customary here. The best, but also the most expensive and difficult to secure, is to enter a cultivated German household, where there are at most only two or three foreigners, and where the boarder is admitted to a share in the family life. Under such circumstances progress in the attainment of the language and insight into German ways of living are rapidly secured. But, as in America, the number of educated families who are ready to receive boarders on such conditions is limited and their prices high. The foreigner therefore usually enters an ordinary boarding-house or *pension*. If he does so, his progress in German will be relatively slow. He will be one of a dozen similarly situated, and will speak broken German with his fellow-countrymen till disgust at his failures drives him back to English. It is not infrequent to meet Americans who after four or five years of such *pension* life are still unable to take part in ordinary German conversation.

The third way of living is that of a vast majority of the German students and of many Americans, that of lodging or *garçon logis*. The system has the merits of cheapness, convenience, and freedom from the gossip often incident to *pension* life; but it affords even less opportunity for the practice of the language. The lodger takes the scanty breakfast of Continental custom in his room; but beyond that he is not dependent on his landlady, obtaining his dinner and tea at one of the numerous restaurants which are to be found in almost every street. Of home life he has naturally none. But it is sometimes possible for the lodger to arrange to take his dinner in a German family, thus securing many of the advantages of that actual membership in a German household which is the best manner of life of all.

The American student is in danger of underestimating the ex-

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pensiveness of living in Germany. The impressions given by the daily press and the experiences of travelers who have not made a prolonged residence in the country create an expectation of cheapness which is often disappointed. Clothing and service cost less than in the United States, but board can rarely be obtained at rates much below those current in the average American college town; and in quality and amount of food German tables leave much to be desired. The student will not be far wrong if he estimates his expenses of living at about the sum required in Williamstown or Amherst; should he journey much, the drafts on his purse will naturally be increased. The German student spends little, as a rule; but he secures his economy by a scantiness in diet and lighting and heating, such as few young men, accustomed to college life in America, can practice without serious danger to health.

But in all that concerns the university, save the final examination, the expenses are slight. A matriculation fee of five dollars admits one as a student. The same sum pays for a course of lectures occupying five hours a week through the term. A little more than half that amount secures the privileges of the *seminar*, when not absolutely free. The cost of instruction therefore rarely exceeds fifty dollars a year. The musical advantages of the city, the concerts and opera, are granted to the students at special and very moderate rates. For the final examination a fee of seventy-five dollars is charged, and the outlay incident to printing the monograph will increase the expenses of graduating to a hundred and twenty-five dollars, or even more.

The student will find much to enjoy in intercourse with his fellow-countrymen here. Their variety of interest and experience and their prevailing scholarly purpose will stimulate him mentally, while the feeling of common nationality attracts him to them socially. Yet it may properly be questioned how far one who is determined to know much of German life and language can afford to join himself intimately to the distinctively American society here. With a resident English-speaking population of several hundred the temptation is great, and with the difficulties in the acquisition of German and of intercourse with cultivated families, which have already been pointed out, it requires a resolute will to turn away from so attractive companionship.

There is one place, however, where no American can afford not to join heartily with his fellow-countrymen, however great his desire to master the German tongue may be. The American church is an institution in which he may well take pride and toward

which he will be glad to contribute his share of effort. With its large attendance, well conducted services and excellent management, it makes his Sundays bright in his memories of life in this far off European city.

Williston Walker.

LEIPSI, GERMANY.

COUNT LYOF N. TOLSTOI ON IMMORTALITY.

It is always refreshing to meet a literary genius. In spite of his critics, the author of "Anna Karenina," "My Confession," "My Religion," etc., is entitled to this rank, and is worthy of study as such. But Tolstoi as a man, a reformer and religious leader, a theologian, also commands attention as one of the powerful characters of his generation. As a man, his strong individuality, his remarkable religious experience, his ethical insight, his devout earnestness, compel our admiration and respect. As a reformer and leader, his spirit of self-renunciation, his audacious teachings, his unique social position, his practical application of his conclusions, his wide range, and his depth of knowledge, attract and hold us. His books, particularly those which reveal his inner life and the reforms he is trying to inaugurate, quicken our moral and spiritual pulse, and provoke thought. As a theologian, his scathing denunciations of many of the ideas held by the church in which he was reared, his skepticism concerning the infallibility of past interpreters of the Bible and authors of councils and of creeds, his undisguised contempt of systematic theology, are invigorating, if not always convincing. And we are not disappointed if a man who began the following of Christ and the study of theology as late in life as he, does not present a symmetrical system of religious truth. It is enough if he can declare to us a few truths more clearly than they have been declared, and we may even allow him to so emphasize them that for a time they are more prominent than they ought to be in the system. This is often the history of a truth that has not had its lawful place in the past. But in this emphasis other truths must not be ignored, much less denied; and if such truths be fundamental, then the reformer or theologian who leaves them out brings into his work an element of disintegration and defeat.

As we study the history of our Christian religion we find there have been a few beliefs on which thoughtful and sincere souls

have been supposed to agree ; a few fundamentals of faith without which we could not build Christian character or a Christian community. They are : (1) a belief in a personal God, revealed through Christ, as Our Father ; (2) a belief in man as a spiritual being ; (3) a belief in a future and immortal life. But few attempt to reduce the articles of essential faith to less than these ; but few Christians would be willing to stop with these. But an examination of the writings of Tolstoi shows that he is almost silent as regards the last belief named. It is not easy to determine accurately his position ; but it is evident that the idea of the future life commonly set forth by the church about him he repudiates ; that he presses constantly and prominently the idea of an immortality of influence ; that he ignores, if he does not deny outright, the Christian doctrine of a personal immortality. He is so explained by his interpreters. Mr. Kennan, in his article in "The Century" for June, 1887, says : "He has very little faith in the immortality of the soul." A reviewer of "My Religion," in "The Andover Review" for May, 1886, says : "He speaks of an immortality of influence like the Positivist." His own words, while often ambiguous, cannot be reconciled with any other conclusion. In "My Religion" he writes : "But there are two doctrines of life ; Jesus denies the one and affirms the other. One of these doctrines, a source of all error, consists in the idea that the personal life is one of the essential and real attributes of man. This doctrine has been followed, and is still followed, by the majority of men ; it is the source of divergent beliefs and acts. The other doctrine, taught by Jesus and by all the prophets, affirms that our personal life has no meaning save through fulfillment of the will of God" (p. 164). "The entire doctrine of Jesus inculcates renunciation of the personal, imaginary life, and a merging of this personal life in the universal life of humanity, in the life of the Son of Man. Now, the doctrine of the individual immortality of the soul does not impel us to renounce the personal life ; on the contrary, it affirms the continuance of individuality forever" (p. 153). "I shall die as others die who do not observe the doctrine of Jesus ; but my life and my death will have a meaning for myself and for others ; my life and my death will have added something to the life and salvation of others, and this will be in accordance with the doctrine of Jesus" (p. 159). "It cannot be doubted that the personal life is condemned to destruction, and that a life conformable to the will of God alone gives the possibility of salvation.

It is not much in comparison with the sublime belief in the future life! It is not much, but it is sure" (p. 156). And then he uses this illustration, which probably brings us the nearest his thought: "I am lost with my companions in a snow storm. One of them assures me with the utmost sincerity that he sees a light in the distance, but it is only a mirage which deceives us both; we strive to reach this light, but we never can find it. Another resolutely brushes away the snow; he seeks and finds the road, and he cries to us, 'Go not that way, the light you see is false, you will wander to destruction; here is the road, I feel it beneath my feet; we are saved.' It is very little we say. We had faith in that light that gleamed in our deluded eyes that told us of a refuge, a warm shelter, rest, deliverance, — and now, in exchange for it, we have nothing but the road. Ah, but if we continue to travel toward the imaginary light, we shall perish; if we follow the road, we shall surely arrive at a haven of safety."

The study before us is to discover how this teacher, who seems to be so sincere and whole-hearted in his following of Christ, has reached his conclusions, and why he fails to find the doctrine of immortality that has been so generally taught as one of the cardinals of our Christianity.

The race tendency, the temperament, the past training, the environment, the practices, the philosophy of any teacher, are all potent factors in his system of thought. Edwin Arnold, in his review of "*Anna Karenina*," in "*The Contemporary Review*," says: "The Slav nature, or at any rate the Russian nature — the Russian nature as it shows itself in the Russian novels — seems marked by an extreme sensitiveness, a consciousness most quick and acute both for what the man's self is experiencing, and also for what others in contact with him are thinking and feeling. . . . He finds relief to his sensitiveness in letting his perceptions have perfectly free play, and in recording their reports with perfect fidelity."

The "truthfulness," or "realism," which Mr. Howells praises and Mr. Thompson condemns, in Tolstoi, is evidently what Mr. Arnold is describing, and that the "Russian nature" does find its illustration in our author in all his writings none can deny. What an accurate and powerful record of the inception and growth of a fatal disease is found in "*The Death of Ivan Il-yitch*"; how the mental as well as bodily anguish is pictured with a master's skill! In "*My Confession*" he has shown even more clearly this power of perception and record. He analyzes himself,

writes it down, and gives it to the world, hiding nothing, sparing nothing, his one aim accuracy, "perfect fidelity." So in "Sebastopol": "What Hugo has done for Waterloo and Sedan, Tolstoi has done for Sebastopol." So in "Anna Karenina": "There is not a line, not a trait brought in for the glorification of Russia, or to feed vanity; things and characters go as nature takes them, and the author is absorbed in seeing how nature takes them, and in relating it."

It is easy to find the bearing of this nature on his doctrine of immortality. He is recording what he finds in the realm of observation and experience. He rejects speculation, imagination, and, thus far, metaphysics. This realistic tendency dominates his religious thinking, and he becomes the traveler who prefers to dig down to the road and plod along on that. "It is not much, but it is sure," and he will not launch out beyond what is a demonstrable fact concerning his own and others' lives, even though it be so momentous a subject as immortality. His "Slav nature" holds him so that he does not see that a truth which, while it may be actually demonstrated by nothing, may be implicit in everything, and this latter fact be the ground of our belief.

But his teaching is also greatly influenced by his conception of the Christian life. His religious experiences have led him to abhor the idea of life in vogue in society about him. Tolstoi is living in an atmosphere strongly impregnated with individualism. It has its grip upon his nation, and has encouraged the idea of gathering as much as possible about self and calling that living. And that idea has fastened itself upon the religion about him, and largely moulded the church doctrine of immortality as he finds it. It is a conception which does not impel the renouncing of a selfish life, the "personal life," which in Tolstoi's revised creed of life is a "stupendous farce"; and the teaching that insists that through form and ceremony and acceptance of traditional beliefs this life can be perpetuated beyond the grave he repudiates as unreasonable and irreconcilable with Christianity. He rejects as the product of the teaching of the church and not of Christ the conclusion that a life so low and unsatisfactory as the lives of so many about him is to live on; such a life has no material in it worth perpetuating; what the church so confidently assumes is to inherit eternal life is not fit for this inheritance, and would only bring continued and increased dissatisfaction and disorder into the universe.

His experiences and researches have turned him in another

direction for light on this problem. He has become an enthusiastic defender of the political and social movements, reaching to-day from the streets of Moscow to the streets of New Orleans, that insist we are one as a race; that we have a community of interests; that no man can partition himself off from humanity and make a paradise by himself for himself. He denies the divine right of kings, he denies the law of the survival of the fittest for man; in a word, he most profoundly believes in the solidarity of the race. And farther, he has had a religious transformation that has led him to see the satisfaction there is in living wholly for others. With almost apostolic freshness and vigor he dwells upon this way of living, until a halo of glory surrounds it and mars his vision toward any other phase of life. To get under Christ's law of losing life for others, this is real living, and to sink anything or everything for this attainment is none too much. He is absorbed now in the effort to make the world better for his having lived in it, to leave behind him a fragrant memory, an influence for good; to bequeath to posterity a legacy of unselfish deeds, to his children the blessings of a true life as a parent: all this now comes to Tolstoi as so much nobler and better than the doctrine of immortality he finds about him, the continuance of the barren "personal life," that he turns with an almost joyful heart toward it, and still true to his "Slavic nature," says, "This I know, therefore this I teach. It is better to live on as a blessed influence than a selfish personality; it is safe and wise to proclaim this to men; the world needs a strong re-emphasis of the divine law of unselfishness, as the law of humanity;" and with a pathos and earnestness and consecration, rare in any age or any man, he goes out to battle with a world of wrong on this fragment of Christian teaching on the everlasting life.

But our Russian reformer is an unflinching follower of Christ; what does he do with Him whom the centuries have claimed brought more than an immortality of influence to light? He has no quarrel with those who believe in a new life in Christ that may be called the spiritual life. Few men have been more radically changed by Christianity than he, and he believes with all the strength of his being in that life that has a new hold upon God, a new conception of the good, a new relation to duty. He has learned to live "by the rule of God, of the truth;" he has "cried to Him," his "inner life has won its liberty." From the terrible darkness and struggle narrated in "My Confession," he has come to a light and peace that is such a contrast to the old life that he

never forgets the difference, and he exalts Christ as the Teacher of teachers ; but when he comes to Christ as a revealer of immortality he falters and doubts. He holds the resurrection is not a doctrine of Christ. On page 144, in "My Religion," he says : "As to personal resurrection, strange as it may appear to those who have never carefully studied the Gospels for themselves, Jesus said nothing about it whatever."

He farther insists Christ did not speak even of his own rising from the dead once in clear and precise terms ; that in the thirteen passages that are interpreted as prophecies of Jesus in regard to his own resurrection, two refer to Jonah, another to the rebuilding of the temple, and the rest affirm that the Son of Man shall not be destroyed ; but not a word about the *resurrection* of Jesus. The word, that is, is not used that means to resuscitate, to raise from the dead. "As opposed to the personal life Jesus taught us not of a life beyond the grave, but of that universal life which comprises within itself the life of humanity, past, present, and to come."

"Perhaps it is right to think that man after this terrestrial life passed in the satisfaction of personal desires, will enter upon the possession of an eternal personal life in paradise, there to taste all imaginable enjoyments ; but to believe that this is so, to endeavor to persuade ourselves that for our good actions we shall be recompensed with eternal felicity, and for our bad actions punished with eternal torments, — to believe this does not aid us in understanding the doctrine of Jesus, but, on the contrary, takes away the principal foundation of that doctrine."¹

We are ready now to discover why he fails to reach the almost universal conclusion of the Christian world concerning a personal immortality.

There is evident unsoundness in his tendency to record perceptions and experiences at the expense of imagination, reflection, reason. Excessive empiricism always has led and always will lead to conclusions that undermine the processes of rational thinking, and our author's absolute loyalty to this method is his first weakness. "The things we hold or rather which hold us with the deepest conviction, are not the certainties of logic, nor of observation — but of life." As in Theism, so in immortality, the first question is not whether it can be proved by experience or logical processes, but whether it can be denied without ending in absurdity ; whether the mental and moral and practical ideals of life can be

¹ *My Religion*, pp. 151, 153.

reconciled to any other conclusion; and the world to-day is not ready to accept Tolstoi's realism as the last or best method to apply to our problem. Again, there is hardly a fair showing for the Christian doctrine of immortality in the fact that Tolstoi makes the issue between an immortality of influence and an immortality of the narrow, selfish "personal life," that he sees is false, and then decides for the former.

It has been regarded very noble and unselfish to believe in the Positivist's immortality, and time has been devoted to showing the selfishness of the desire for a future life. "But in what respect it is more selfish to desire to live hereafter than it is to desire to live to-morrow has never been clearly pointed out," and whether the real issue on immortality is what our reformer makes it remains to be seen. Finally, while we cannot deny the fact of his study of the New Testament with a thoroughness and vigor equaled only by the rarest students, there is surely something unusual in his scriptural conclusions. What are the sources of his failure?

Though Tolstoi has evidently gone through various phases of beliefs as regards a Supreme Being, he seems now to rest in the conception of God as a Person, and we do not discover in his writings any reactions toward pantheistic or positivistic or materialistic doctrines of God, all of which he is familiar with, and by which he has been more or less influenced. His failure comes from two sources.

First: From his conception of man.

Second: From his conception of Christ.

The doctrine of a future life with a man of Tolstoi's research and independence will be greatly affected by his philosophic studies. The best we can say of him as a philosopher is, that he was unfortunate in his teachers, and while they did not keep him from a final rejection of their philosophy of the present life, they have left an impress on him which still shows in some of his conclusions concerning man. We have seen that Tolstoi by his surroundings was cradled and trained in individualism. As a student of philosophy he was encouraged in that conception of life for years. He became a follower of Schopenhauer, and his "Confessions" record repeatedly how he reached the conclusion that Solomon, Schopenhauer, and himself, and they only, understood life. We know how they interpreted it. One with his "Vanity of vanities," the other with his conclusion that this is the worst possible world, and Tolstoi so perplexed and so tired of trying to solve the problem of existence as to continually contemplate suicide. He

assumed for years that they were the "powerful intellects of mankind," and yet were powerless to bring peace to the soul or any satisfactory solution of the still, as he believed, unsolved problem of existence. Dominant in Tolstoi's conception of man came the teaching of this German, who became the fashion in many a circle of thinkers in the years when our reformer was building his system of thought. In the philosophic tent of the pessimistic Schopenhauer, with his primacy of will, his exaggerated individualism, his weak and contemptible personality, Tolstoi dwells. His ideas of man individually and collectively were moulded by the man who said the fundamental Reality is will, not necessarily conscious, and whose verdict on life was that it is "an evil, and a passage from it into nothingness is the only good." The result we have already seen. Tolstoi lost sight of humanity, and enthroned the selfish "personal life," at which he now hurls his anathemas; he became the apostle of an extravagant and false individualism.

But now he changes. He finds Christ's way of living; the law of unselfishness masters him, and the "personal life," so full of self-assertion, pride, greed, despotism, becomes hateful to him; he loves now, and lives for the race; he will shrink from no sacrifice needed for this consummation. In his conclusions now, this individuality that was so obtrusive and defective may have to go. If personality and selfishness, that seemed so indissolubly joined in the old life, cannot be divorced, as he fears they cannot, then both must perish. What is left, this life merged into humanity lost in the will of God, linked by influence, by family to posterity — is immeasurably above the other even though it may not live on a conscious soul. Like a man determined to destroy some fatal disease, but who finds it is in the heart, and nothing but the annihilation of the heart will cure it, so Tolstoi finds in the "personal life" a disease that nothing but the destruction of personality will cure. His old philosophy clings to him. The only peace the individualist finds is the absorption, the virtual destruction of personality that Buddha promises, and that idea creeps into Tolstoi's thought as a socialist and shapes his conclusion on man's future. The process is easy from an undue emphasis of personality to an undue emphasis of solidarity, for these two facts are in intimate relation to each other, and it is also easy to carry from one of these extremes to the other the same false philosophy of man. This Tolstoi has done; as Schopenhauer's pupil, as a philosopher, he goes to an extreme in individuality; as Christ's pupil, a Christian, he goes to an extreme in solidarity, but still remains influenced by such

a conception of man that while it demands a radical change here, leaves him for the future essentially as Schopenhauer and Buddha left him. Christianity and philosophy meet in Tolstoi, and Christianity has done its work well in giving him a truer conception of the life that now is, of its relation to itself and its fellows, but it has failed thus far to change his fundamental conception of what a man is. *He retains the new wine of Christianity in the old bottle of philosophy.*

His failure to reach the doctrine of personal immortality, then, lies first in the fact that he is wrong in his idea of personality, and of its bearing toward, or its mission for, humanity. In attempting to get the individual life in the right relations to humanity, and emerging with the doubt, whether there is anything left of real personality to live on, he shows himself unfitted to grapple satisfactorily with this part of the problem, as a philosopher. Tolstoi's "personal life" is not a real personal life, for personality is not something that is founded on selfishness. Rather through selfishness we are constantly destroying our real selves. It is the mission of sin to disintegrate; it enters society and tears it to pieces; it enters a soul and tries to wreck it as a self-directed, free, and thus personal soul. It is the mission of salvation to conserve the forces of the soul, and only as a man begins a Christian life does he come to himself, and only as he continues does he preserve himself.

"Now the doctrine of immortality does not impel us to renounce the personal life," he says. The reply is, the genuine personal life was never intended to be renounced, and is only possible as the soul links itself in loyal relations to God. The soul away from Him is an array of powers, of possibilities in no right relations to each other. Such a life is a possible crystal, but the elements are as yet untouched by that marvelous and mysterious something called crystallization. That something for the soul is Christ's life coming to it through God's love and man's loyalty. Then it begins to form into the "image and likeness of God," and that process, instead of destroying, *creates personality*. The soul with Tolstoi is a drop of water, the element of personality in the drop itself, its end to be merged into the ocean an inseparable, undistinguishable part of it. Rather is personality the H²O of that drop which will become more real and permanent, and perfect as the water becomes pure, and will be the same whether there be an atom or an ocean of it, and the same a thousand years hence as now. The selfish individualism which he parades, which he sees has no fitness for perpetuity, is indeed all wrong, and only in for-

saking it can a man discover his real self or live a true personal life. Not Schopenhauer's, but Christ's philosophy of life will create it. To get by giving, to live by dying, to find life by losing it, are the foundation principles in the Christian doctrine of personality, and the more a man loses himself in unselfish devotion to others, the more rugged and real he becomes as a conscious, free soul, the more certain he is to live on, the more impossible to sink him into an ocean of impersonal being. If personality were the product of heredity and environment only, our Russian philosopher might the better defend his theory; but if it is the product of self-direction, and is only genuine as that self-direction is toward God, then philosophically he is on a false foundation, and his philosophic conclusions concerning immortality are of little weight.

But Tolstoi also fails to see that there cannot be a true solidarity with this idea of personality. In reacting from the "cannon-ball" theory of men for this world, and reaching the virtual annihilation of men in another world, he takes from humanity what it most needs now. Only as men get into true relations to God and each other can they find the life that has the elements of a personal immortality; but it is also the fact that humanity can only be developed here, and the world have the conditions of progress as we get the Christian conception of personality. To recognize every man as a conscious free soul, a spark from the Eternal flame, a germ from the infinite life, a child of the Everlasting Father; every babe a new manifestation of Omniscient skill, a new creation, *a reality*; such a recognition only can save the principle of solidarity and redeem society. The meaning of humanity is found in the fact that it is made up of so many imperishable realities; it is no reality itself otherwise. To posit a personal God, as Tolstoi evidently does, as the fundamental Reality, and then to posit Humanity as another reality, as he seems to, and yet that humanity composed of what are not realities, but of something that must finally be sunk into essential nothingness, is the metaphysical quagmire into which he leads us. Christian philosophy says the personal life and the life of humanity are to each other as the physical life and the physical world; they exactly fit each other, each must have the other to be rightly developed. It says no life loses one iota of its permanent equipment as a separate self-directed being by working with unselfish enthusiasm and devotion for humanity, and humanity can only be lifted as men see it means a union and action of what are God's best creations, the products

and partakers of God's eternal life. This world, with its strivings for peace, its longings for progress, its cry for purity, its hope for unity, is a gigantic farce, if in men like our consecrated reformer there be not only an immortality of influence, but also an undying progressive personality. Tolstoi's first failure as a religious teacher centres in his philosophy of man as an individual and as a race.

His second difficulty is in his conception of Christ. Many will follow him in his teaching on the relation of the Old Testament to the New. He makes no attempt to reconcile them as two systems of doctrine; in much he believes them antagonistic; Christ came, not to fulfill the law of Moses, but the "Eternal law," much of which he believes the Old Testament declared. But when Tolstoi comes to the New Testament he does not use it as we have been accustomed to have Christ's followers use it. His criticisms of Paul as the founder of a system of theology, rather than the interpreter of Christ's teachings, and his sharp condemnation of some of Paul's theology, betrays his departure from the orthodox theologian. But he goes farther; he does not receive the gospels as written. He is reticent in his declarations on this point, but it is clear that in his doctrinal conclusions he confines himself to what Christ alone teaches. He does not admit as authority in his theology, nor in his discussion of the doctrine under consideration, the record of Christ's life as narrated in the gospels. What does Christ say in his parables, in his personal talks, in his public proclamations, is Tolstoi's platform, and he evidently finds the Magna Charta of the Kingdom of God in the Sermon on the Mount. With the Christian teacher who insists that in Christ's person and life and death there are as vital messages and commands as from his rich and bold moral and spiritual utterances, Tolstoi takes issue secretly, if not at times openly.

Wrapped in his desire for and study of a religion for this world, disgusted with much in the Church that has been labeled Christianity, he again manifests his Russian nature by receiving Christ as but little more than a perfect moral and religious teacher, whose mission was to bring peace on earth, good will to men, now and here. He rests his faith on a mutilated gospel and a partial Christ. There is no evidence that he is willing to admit the supernatural in our Christian faith. And here is the chief source of his failure as a teacher of immortality. *Here is why his new wine of Christianity could not burst the old bottle of philosophy.* He has a diluted, an enfeebled Christianity. The pent-up power in a faith in Christ as the Son of Man and the Son of God that

came forth in Paul and Augustine and Luther, and grounded them in an unshaken belief in an undying life, is not yet in our Russian reformer. He sees Christ in the Sermon on the Mount, but not Christ on the Mount of Transfiguration; Christ in his words, but not Christ in his miracles; Christ as the moral hero, but not Christ as the "Only-begotten Son"; Christ as the world's reformer, but not as the world's only Saviour. Tolstoi sees more clearly than many Christians — for he has concentrated his thought and all the energy of his strong, earnest, loving personality to illustrate it — what Christ asks of men in their bearings toward their fellow-men, — but he does not grasp with any such clearness what Christ has done for the soul as an immortal spirit, struggling with guilt. He sees Christ washing his disciples' feet, and saying, "Whosoever will be chief among you let him be your servant," but he does not go with Christ to the grave of Bethany and hear Him say, "Lazarus come forth." He goes with Christ to the supper and garden and trial and cross, but he leaves Him at the grave of Joseph of Arimathea.

No wonder, then, he blunders on the Christian's immortality! No wonder he is confused over the "personal life," records what he observes and feels, and halts at the grave, doubting whether there has come to the soul any vision or promise of a conscious life beyond the grave. He has met with a mighty loyalty the Christ who said "Resist not evil," but he has forgotten that it is the "life that is the light of men," and only as humanity can see the Christ of the cradle, the cross, and the crown has it the power that can unravel the tangled skein of the life that now is and of the life that is to come.

So as a teacher on immortality our unique reformer fails. His splendid self-renunciation, his keen denunciations of a bigoted Church, his audacious exegesis of many of Christ's words, his earnest struggles for and his final attainment of peace, — command our respect. He is a heroic figure, an almost lonesome soul, as he rises out of his generation, ready to face despotism and bigotry and death, if need be, for his truth. That he is "living by the rule of God," as he interprets it, that his "inner life has won its liberty," not even his most savage critic can doubt. As he expounds a religion for this world, a creed that if lived as he lives it would abolish war, destroy despotism, crush every wrong of man to man, and bind men together with the cords of Justice, Equality, Love; a creed of unflinching acceptance of Christ's ideal of unselfish living, — as such an exponent we may sit at his feet

and listen. In his consecrated study of the life that now is he has reached some thought that will bring joy to his generation.

In all this he has a message and a mission, but no farther. He has no prophet's vision or voice when it comes to the deepest thought of man or the profoundest conception of Christ. It is not his work to present all Christian truth in symmetrical relations. His past life, his Russian realism, his environment, the philosophy of the dismal Schopenhauer, the discarding of the supernatural in our Christian religion, make him too vague, too uncertain, on the question, "If a man die shall he live again?" We must thank him for his words and his deeds; he is the "voice of one crying in the wilderness," but he must take his place with every other reformer from the days of John the Baptist to the days of Tolstoi, as one who can give only a partial message. And we must still build our faith on another Leader, — one with a larger conception of Fatherhood and Brotherhood than our earnest and broad-spirited nobleman; one with a deeper philosophy of man than he; one with a keener insight into the greater needs of the soul than he; one who wrought for the soul more than a rescue from sin and guilt in this world only. The Christian must still go for his safest, truest, last thought on God, and the soul, and the immortal life, to Him who said by his words, but also by his living and dying and rising: "I am the resurrection and the life, whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die."

John Faville.

APPLETON, WISCONSIN.

EDITORIAL.

MATTHEW ARNOLD'S LAST CRITICISM.

IN the April number of the "Nineteenth Century," which appeared only a few days before his sudden death, Matthew Arnold published an article containing some criticisms on what he calls the higher civilization in the United States. These criticisms were promised three years ago in another article, which was highly laudatory of our political institutions, and may be taken as the expression of his deliberate judgment in regard to some of the most important tendencies of American life. We, therefore, discuss the opinions of Mr. Arnold on the success of Americans in "solving the human problem" precisely as we should if the author were still living. Although Mr. Arnold knew for many years that he had heart-disease, it is a little singular that in this last article, and nowhere else so far as we know, he alluded to the probability that his life would not be long. He said that the difficulty and delicacy of the task he had set himself are such that if he were sure of living to a great age, which he considered altogether improbable, he should follow the example of Theophrastus, "who waited before composing his famous Characters, until he was ninety-nine years old."

It is not our purpose to rush to the defense of this nation against all unfavorable criticisms, for much may be learned from the impressions made upon travelers from other countries who are capable of comparing one type of civilization with another. Scarcely any question is of greater interest or importance than the question how far and in what respects a great and new nation is succeeding in the development of the higher civilization, and we should be grateful rather than indignant when our shortcomings are intelligently indicated.

We begin at Mr. Arnold's starting-point, and agree with him that there may be left out of the account that which constitutes the comfort and convenience of life through material appliances. The mere machinery of living, and which the nations have in common, railroads, telegraphs, factories, and the like, are important conditions of civilization, but are not its ripe product, which must be looked for in the characteristics, tastes, and ideals of the people themselves. We may therefore dismiss all that Mr. Arnold introduces concerning the cheapness of cab-rates and club privileges, and the greater purchasing power of moderate incomes in England as compared with this country. The something higher which he complains is absent from American civilization is the "humanization of man in society, his making progress there towards his true and full humanity." This is rather vague, but may be accepted as standing for all those attainments and enjoyments which range above the level of material welfare. He characterizes this humanization, this high and satisfying civilization as best described by the word *interesting*. "Here is the extraordinary charm of the old Greek civilization—that it is so *interesting*."

Do not tell me only, says human nature, of the magnitude of your industry and commerce ; of the beneficence of your institutions, your freedom, your equality ; of the great and growing number of your churches and schools, libraries and newspapers ; tell me also of your civilization — which is the grand name you give to all this development — tell me if your civilization is *interesting*." This is certainly a suggestive, albeit a somewhat elastic test of that which is civilizing because humanizing. But Mr. Arnold explains that there are two great sources of the interesting, namely, distinction and beauty, that which is elevated, and that which is beautiful. Both these he argues are wanting in America. So that whatever excellences there may be in other respects we are destitute of that which alone can make a nation interesting by the possession of those treasures or personages which constitute the higher civilization.

Enough has now been said to suggest Mr. Arnold's standards of judgment to those who may not have read his article. We shall first qualify somewhat his opinion that we are deficient according to the tests he has set up ; we shall then indicate certain characteristics which may fairly be considered interesting by the standard of "humanization" ; and shall finally call attention to some of the real defects of our higher civilization.

America, then, is said to be painfully lacking in that which nourishes and delights the sense of beauty. The very landscape is wanting in this respect — at least, Mr. Arnold says, in the long-settled States east of the Alleghany Mountains. But the tameness of the Atlantic slope does not disparage other portions of the country which have the utmost variety of fine landscape. And even in New England, with its bold sea-coast, its mountains, its never-ending succession of hill and valley ; in New York, with its Hudson River, its Adirondacks, and its lakes ; and even down into Eastern Pennsylvania, with its rivers and hilltops, and into Maryland with its bays and inlets, — there are features of natural beauty which may be compared without disadvantage to the flatness of Lincolnshire, the prettiness of the English lakes, or even the modest altitudes of the mountains of Scotland. So far as the higher civilization depends on the presence of beauty in nature, we should say that America is quite as well provided as any country of Europe, except, possibly, Switzerland ; and the scenery of Switzerland has not in any marked degree produced that higher civilization which makes the people *interesting*. It must be admitted, of course, that we are at a disadvantage from not having anything like the "cathedrals, parish churches, and castles of the catholic and feudal age, . . . and houses of the Elizabethan age." That training of the sense of beauty which comes through familiarity with beautiful architecture is less easy here than in England. As a people we do not live in the constant presence of artistic buildings, for which in England the climate has done almost as much as the architect. But aesthetic cultivation even in respect to architecture is not wanting here. Studies in art are general and unremitting. The educated people of this country

are as appreciative of real art and as much influenced by the culture of it as the corresponding class in England. The result is attained, even if the means are not as close at hand. Somehow or other the sense of beauty has been developed considerably, so that it cannot be charged that America lacks this element in its people. As to cities, we admit the Manchester type is more common than the Edinboro' type, but we have Washington and Boston, which certainly in external appearance are highly interesting. The names of towns and cities might be better in many cases. Briggsville and Higginsville, Troy and Utica are not felicitous appellations. Enough names, however, have been imported from England to satisfy a reasonable visitor from that country, and it was only when the supply from that source proved inadequate that local personages and the classical dictionary were utilized to keep pace with the demand. Even England is queer with names in some places.

The other test of distinction is not easily understood. It is described as the elevated, the presence of that which provides a discipline of awe and respect. In this Mr. Arnold says we are wanting. The religion of the Puritans provided the thrill of awe, but that is dying out and nothing is left. The charge really is that America has produced very few men of rare distinction. Alexander Hamilton was such a man, and so was Washington, in style and character, although not equal intellectually to Pericles or Cæsar; but those gentlemen belonged to the pre-American age, and since then no one of distinction has appeared. The lack, then, would seem to be that on the stage of public affairs no persons of distinction appear, that public functions are discharged by commonplace, mediocre men. We think the charge cannot be maintained even in respect to the long succession of Presidents, Judges, and Senators. Some American statesmen have had a character, a bearing, a dignity, a style most highly distinguished. Mediocrity, of course, is the rule, as it is in every country. The occasional appearance, anywhere, however, of distinguished statesmen is not of itself a predominant influence which shapes the higher civilization, but is only one, among many indications, of the characteristics of the educated class. Among American men of letters and of science there have been several illustrious examples of distinction in style, manner, and impression. Refinement and culture are very much the same in their effect here as elsewhere, and the proportion whose fineness and self-collectedness are conspicuous is probably quite as great here as anywhere. Hero-worship is not extensively carried on here, it is true. Even if the religion which was dear to the Puritans should die out, hero-worship would not take the place of it, but it would not be because we are more painfully destitute of heroes of the modern standard than other countries. Is it Mr. Arnold's notion that America is uninteresting because all the people from least to greatest are *common*, so that there are not enough persons of quality to satisfy the social needs of a refined and cultivated Englishman?

On the whole, then, we are not convinced of the absence of the two

conditions which humanize society or make it interesting. But we are not prepared to admit that beauty and distinction, even in the correct apprehension of them, are the only characteristics of the higher civilization. Are there not other reasons for considering Americans interesting, and reasons peculiar to themselves? Besides many results which we have in common with other nations, and which constitute the staple of civilization, there are unique qualities which are decidedly *interesting*.

The sense of humor is highly developed in America, and is among the clearest tokens of humanization. It is remarkable how fine the discriminations are which are made by those who are not highly educated. Alertness of mind is so common that one who is slow to detect the subtle distinctions which are constantly made is a sort of anomaly. Anecdotes and witticisms become stale so soon that one scarcely ventures to repeat them to a second group of listeners. Americans satirize their own foibles. The boasts which we are supposed to be constantly making are seldom taken in earnest, and are often so delicately satirized in the very use of them that an average Englishman takes a humorous for a serious indulgence in encomiums of the nation. Conversation in cultivated circles is characterized by brightness and rapid transitions. It skips, in words, the complete connections of thought, and seems elliptical to a degree which confuses a foreigner. The conversations reported in Mr. Howells's books have a sparkling humor which leaps lightly and gayly from one tuft to another, and flits on, superior to the morass of commonplace through which a plodding mind would painfully toil. Yet such conversations, as well as the whole development of Mr. Howells's stories, are criticised because they are only reflections or photographs of what is constantly occurring, and are not sufficiently imaginative or ideal. The dialect poems and novels which are now so popular reveal this sense of humor among all classes of people. Mr. Arnold says that the "funny man" is a national misfortune. Possibly. But he has to be very funny indeed to amuse an American audience who are ready even to be made fun of, if only the ridicule is delicate and suggestive, but who will not tolerate a style of joking which is clumsy, bungling, and coarse.

Another characteristic which should make the better classes of this country interesting is their own lively interest in the affairs of other nations. With English, German, French, and Italian politics educated Americans are intelligently familiar. Although we have the disadvantage of distance and of immunity from the dangers of foreign wars, yet we are as well informed about European politics as educated Europeans themselves. Our newspapers may be too much given to personalities and to the recital of crimes and disasters, although our best dailies are free enough from such coarseness, but large space is given in them to events in other countries. An American reader of London newspapers might almost forget that he has a country, but the English reader of the best American journals might flatter himself that Great Britain is as important away over in the New World as the new nation itself. This unfail-

ing interest in the politics and customs of other nations is one of the surest marks of humanization.

Sense of proportion is a mark of cultivation, and we think Americans preserve it better than Englishmen and Frenchmen and nearly as well as Germans. Americans are not thrown into excitement by unexpected events. They are quite likely to reserve their judgment till they are in possession of the facts. They measure quickly the proportions and the effect of disturbing events. The Englishman is hot-headed. Prince Napoleon shot in Africa while he was a soldier in the English army, General Gordon shut up in Khartoum, are sufficient occasions to turn London upside down. The Englishman's second thought is moderate and sound. But his second thought brings him only where the American is at his first thought. This Mr. Arnold perceives when he remarks that we see clear and think straight. Our power in this respect is not limited, however, to what he calls political and social problems, but extends to all relations and subjects with which we deal at all.

This country is interesting by reason of frequent changes of social position and of occupation. The individual extends his work from a branch to the entire scope of an industry, rising meanwhile in the social scale. The majority of men who are educated in academies and colleges pass through several strata of social position. That is to say, classes, which exist here as truly as anywhere, are not separated artificially, but correspond to the actual changes which may occur in individuals, and make room for new-comers. This humanizes life and gives it endless interest. It is the constant infusion of new elements into the uppermost social class. The rapid growth of cities encourages this influx of health into conditions of luxury. The reinforcement of city populations from the country prevents enervation. The intelligent and wealthy class is invigorated from various sources. Its variety keeps it interesting and humanizes it.

A country, of course, is interesting more or less according to the tastes of the observer. To the political and sociological student America is intensely interesting. And even if the higher civilization were only that which satisfies the artistic sense, America for such reasons as have been suggested will not be found wanting. We have solved the human problem very much as England has. We have a large stock of customs and standards which are English, and which on account of community of blood no tariff could ever have been high enough to exclude. We are not a new nation but an old nation in a new country. Yet, even so, we are differentiated in some respects, and are working out some elements of the human problem successfully in our own way, and therefore to an observer who knows how many-sided the human problem is, we are an interesting people, not wanting wholly in objects of beauty and appreciation of the beautiful, nor in elevated characters in our political and literary history, and having besides, sense of humor, sense of proportion, cosmopolitan

sympathies, and constant change of social relationship, which are civilizing to the highest degree, and which are distinctive of the nation.

The difference between an Englishman and an American may seem to be very little. They have so much in common that the differences appear slight. Yet Mr. Arnold seems to have felt the contrasts more than the resemblances, and we have a like feeling, except that we think, as he believes the boastful American in his ignorance is sure to think, that the differences are on the whole in our favor. We quite agree with the observation which Asa Gray applied to the contrasts between men and brutes, namely, that there is very little difference in people, but what there is means a great deal.

We cannot leave the subject without pointing out, briefly, some of the wrong tendencies of American life which are unfriendly to humanization. One is the very tendency Mr. Arnold deplors in England, the growing materialization of the higher classes. He employs a striking phrase to indicate that there is in England a higher class materialized, a middle class vulgarized, a lower class brutalized. Social entertainment runs more and more to lavish expense, and unprecedented display. It is becoming difficult for cultivated people of moderate income to maintain a place in society. Feasting is getting to be the principal object of social intercourse. Costliness of equipage, dress, residence, and all other appointments is putting the advantage of social life out of the reach of those who would contribute most to its enrichment. Vast fortunes are numerous, and wealth is made the greatest social power.

Another bad characteristic is the spirit of indiscriminating optimism. Americans find it difficult to believe that any dangers can seriously threaten their political institutions or prosperous growth. Little interest is taken in bad tendencies until they have developed into unmistakable evils, such as Mormonism, frequent divorce, intemperance, and the like. Then a moral crusade can be started. It is strange that a nation which has been through a domestic war could become careless again. This optimistic spirit is what Mr. Arnold and many others have often mistaken for boastfulness. The exact truth is that the American recognizes bad tendencies and traits, but is hopeful that all will be well in the end.

There is also a degree of ethical laxity which promises harm to our higher civilization. This is especially true when responsibility is distributed so that the individual's share is relatively small, as in corporate relations. It must be admitted that the American's reputation for honesty under all circumstances has not become proverbial as the Englishman's has.

We mention only, in addition to what has been indicated, a certain lightness reaching sometimes to flippancy, even in relation to the most serious matters of life and to the truths and forms of religion, which is discordant to minds of symmetrical culture, and thus unfavorable to humanization. It is a misuse of the sense of humor. We cannot but think, however, that Mr. Arnold himself was prone to this very fault,

for it is a flippant use of serious words and shows little appreciation of that which is most elevated, when without apparent offense to his own sense of propriety he could empty a religious phrase of its accustomed meaning and use it in a changed form for his concluding sentiment: "Except a man be born from above he cannot have part in the society of the future."

THE PERIL OF ORTHODOXY.

A RELIGIOUS journal whose sincerity we respect has recently charged the "new theology" with partiality for theories which "destroy" the "foundations" in which the righteous trust. This accusation is supported in part by the remark that the "Andover Review" recognizes no "substantial issue" as surviving between men of the new school and promoters of old and fundamental errors, and particularly lifts up no "note of warning or of protest . . . to the propaganda against which Edward Dorr Griffin and Lyman Beecher, and others, not a few, in their day, thundered in pulpit and in press alike. But we do find multiplied . . . pages devoted to the building up of the newer hypotheses."

It were easy to reply that both of the divines who are named were prominent in their use of "improvements" in theology, and if they were living now would certainly not be occupied in fighting old battles. We might also appeal to the pages of this REVIEW as affording abundant evidence of the purpose of its conductors to maintain the principles and mark the signs of a truly Biblical and vital Christianity. We have combined from the beginning discussions of fundamental principles with accounts of their practical application. No other general Review has so systematically, thoroughly, and constantly exhibited in its motive, methods, and results that work which preëminently expresses a living Christianity, the missionary service. If we have been constrained to oppose men with whom we are, to use our critic's words, "denominationally classified," this is not because we value less than they the fundamental truths we hold in common, but because we believe that some of their inferences and methods repel men from Christianity and hinder its progress. Our interest in a particular "hypothesis" lies mainly in its practical importance from this point of view. We are doing what we can to promote its intelligent discussion because we are convinced that in this way obstacles to missionary success will be removed, and leading doctrines of Christianity gain in clearness, simplicity, and fullness of statement.

Our present purpose, however, is not to reply to the criticism we have cited, but to present some thoughts started by its perusal. We will first, however, quote a little further, continuing the citation already begun:—

"Variant from the teachings of the fathers who kept ever close to the New Testament teachings, they [*i. e.*, 'the newer hypotheses'] are so variant in fact to the view of a host comprising the whole truly evangelical army, and embracing as much and more of sound learning, and of diffused knowledge in the churches as ever existed—as to become quite 'another gospel.' . . . But while we thus

write . . . there is over the mind of the writer no element nor cloud of mis-giving as to the future of 'pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father.'"

We need not prolong the extract. The writer is defined. You see him. You recognize him as an old acquaintance. You have met him many times on the page of history. Paul encountered him in every synagogue. No sooner had the church assumed form than he tried to turn its creed into a law, its sacraments into ordinances, its councils into courts. He flourished in the days of the Inquisition. He has been in the main a good man; he has loved the truth which he has fought for; he has meant to be faithful; but you know that he will fail to understand those with whom he does not agree, and that time and time again he has substituted opinion for doctrine, and failed to speak for God according to the proportion of his faith.

We have expressed on a former occasion our appreciation of the value of the epithet "orthodox." In pointing out now its exposure and perversion we do not disparage it. In this world light ever has its shadow, goodness its perils. Every community or fellowship, as well as every member of it, has an easily besetting sin. Orthodoxy can claim no exemption from the common law, even when the word is interpreted in its noblest sense. In its merely ecclesiastical sense it has little value for our time, which cares more for truth according to a permanent religious standard than for an accredited soundness of opinion according to the judgment of some transient synod or particular age.

Webster defines orthodoxy as "soundness of faith; a belief in the genuine doctrines taught in the Scriptures," which gives to the word its best sense from the Protestant, not to say Puritan, point of view. Worcester is truer to the etymology of the word when he explains it to mean "soundness in opinion and doctrine, particularly in matters of religion." Neither gives the ecclesiastical meaning — which we dismiss. The difference in definition between the two lexicographers indicates the greatest peril of orthodoxy, the substitution of opinion for faith. Orthodoxy is constantly in danger of construing matters of opinion as articles of belief, and an acceptance of these opinions as an exercise, or an indispensable part, of a genuine faith. We have nothing to say against creeds, rightly formed, and put to their proper uses. Christianity is truth. It has doctrines which should be taught. A gospel which cannot be preached as true, which does not command human thought, which is not susceptible of articulate statement, is not apostolic nor divine. Theology itself is a direct and legitimate outgrowth of Christianity, and a genuine interest of the Christian Church. But a veritable Christian doctrine is always a fact and truth of spiritual life, and a necessary element in its full realization. It is a perception of a permanent reality — of something in the realm of being and of personality which has enduring value. It is not a transient opinion, helpful in the search after truth, but food and drink to the reason, though it be but a crumb or a drop. It has in it a lasting author-

ity, one that can never be outgrown. It can always be translated into the form of a personal faith in a personal God, authoritatively revealed; and is as immutable in principle, however expansive in range and form, as his being and will. Orthodoxy is constantly in danger of losing this conception of Christian doctrine. It maintains propositions that have lost their connection with religious faith. It uses these propositions as though they were complete premises, and competent to guarantee the validity of all that may be deduced from them. Then it compacts this mass of abstractions and inferences into what it calls a Confession of Faith, and presents it to the world as an epitome of that divine revelation which is throughout historical and personal, and as the necessary knowledge of all who would be men in Christ Jesus. The history of creeds is a most instructive one in this aspect. At the Council of Jerusalem (Acts xv.) the Apostles and the church agreed in the confession that salvation is by faith in Jesus, and not by the law. The religious relation to God came to the front. Rules of conduct which were agreed upon were dictates of wisdom in maintaining this relation and removing obstacles to its universal ascendancy. The first creed which appears — substantially our Apostles' Creed — is a personal confession of faith, and deals throughout with personal relations as defined by the revelation of God as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Heresies arose, that is, teachings which were inconsistent with the truths involved in this confession. The personal confession became a congregational confession. It proceeded to state truth as opposed to what was regarded as error. The antagonism was still kept in the form of faith, the faith of the church. Piety declined and errors increased. The confession of a Saviour in the events of his historic revelation passed over into formulas respecting the "two natures" and their relations. Still, the one Person was predominant; but the main interest was concentrating on a right definition of the relations of the natures, rather than on the spiritual qualities manifested through those natures, and the ineffably glorious personality in which they were harmoniously united. Discussion about Christ wandered away from Christ into the sphere of mere opinion. The Creed was interpreted into this form of theology or that. Parties grew up and lived in mutual hate and ripened into sects. The East split into fragments and became lawful prey to the followers of the prophet of the divine Oneness. The West exalted a matter of opinion into an article of faith, put it into a creed, made it a test of orthodoxy, and split from the East, each part excommunicating the other in the name of orthodoxy. Orthodoxy was one thing in Old Rome, another in New Rome, another in Armenia, another in Persia. When the ecclesiastical unity of Western Christendom was broken up under the pressure of a new and powerful religious reformation it was natural that new creeds should arise. But it was impossible, even with the fresh inspiration which had been gained by repairing to the living fountains of truth in the Scriptures, to reverse or wholly discard methods and habits of thought which had been

growing for centuries. The new confessions became more and more bodies of divinity, summaries of doctrine in its theological, systematic, and polemic form, elaborate statements forged in the schools and useful as mailed armor, but fitted to impress men with the conviction that Christianity is more than all things else a great storehouse of logical truth, a "scheme" or "system" of divine thought which it is our principal business first to master and then to be governed by. The method pursued where religious life was most intense and concentrated is specially noteworthy. The Creed was left to stand by itself. Personal consecration and devotion assumed the form of a covenant. Nothing marks more significantly than this separation of creed and covenant how fully orthodoxy had become soundness in opinion rather than soundness in faith, and this all the more because the immense change which had been wrought was not mistrusted. The sixteenth century has been called the age of Confessions, the seventeenth that of orthodoxy. The eighteenth showed the legitimate result of an orthodoxy of opinion. Semler summed it up when he treated every Christian doctrine as the "opinion of some teacher," — *sententia alicujus doctoris*, — and divorced faith from truth. The irony of history is most noteworthy. The name of the theologian of the Mediæval Church who most exalted logic is preserved in our word *den*. The church that introduced into its calendar "Orthodoxy Sunday" has produced nothing since. If there has been to some degree in the nineteenth century a repristination of the standards of the sixteenth, and a recovery from the rationalism of the eighteenth, it is due to a revival of the religious faith of the Reformers and a rejection of most of the shibboleths of the orthodoxy of their successors. The history of creeds is thus a demonstration on a large scale that an orthodoxy of faith is liable to become an orthodoxy of opinion, and that the temptation is a deadly peril. The moment a doctrine, no matter how high and sacred, no matter how imposingly promulgated, receives a form which makes it indifferent to the religious life and capable of acceptance without the exercise of a spiritual faith, it is dead, and the orthodoxy which continues to assert it is simply playing into the hands of unbelief and irreligion.

The injurious influences that emanate from an orthodoxy of opinion, as distinct from an orthodoxy of Christian faith, are innumerable. It not only perpetuates ignorance of religious truth, but exalts this nescience to the rank of a virtue. It makes of sectarian narrowness and partisan blindness a sacred obligation, a service to religion, a fidelity to God. We have no sympathy with religious indifferentism. Tolerance of opinions in another which a man's own reason and conscience repudiate as religiously harmful should never go beyond a full recognition of his personal rights. There is no intolerance if one does not choose as his intimate friend a neighbor whose principles he cannot approve. But the orthodoxy of opinion is intolerant of other religious opinions, not because it sees them to be religiously harmful, or unchristian, but because they clash with its own opinions of what is religious, opinions which it has never tested

by any genuine process and standard of faith. It makes of opinion a universal law, and invests it with the authority of a "Thus saith the Lord."

Of course, it is often very unjust. Mere prejudice dictates its conclusions. And since it is filled with the notion that it is steadying the ark, or defending the faith, or staying the progress of baneful error, and is doing this in faithfulness to a commission it has received from heaven, its tone is authoritative and judicial. The orthodoxy of faith draws into its severest strain of rebuke something of the meekness and gentleness of the Christ in whom it believes, and at whose sacred feet it humbly sits waiting for his word. The orthodoxy of opinion loses this personal inspiration of truth and love, mounts the judgment-seat, puts on the black cap, and turns judgment into anathema. Oh, the mischief of it,—the souls repelled from truth, the widespread misconception of what the gospel of Christ really is, the unseemly strifes and divisions, the repression of inquiry, the stifling of thought, the murder of love!

Do our words seem to any reader severe? We can only say that, born, educated, always living within the circles of Orthodoxy, we have been more severe with ourselves than in anything here penned. We prize beyond measure the historic continuity of the Christian faith, the constants of doctrine amid all the variables, intellectual character and stability. But we have learned, however imperfectly, yet truly and profoundly, that there can be no safe judgment of another's doctrine that tests it by an orthodoxy of opinion.

COMMENT ON CURRENT DISCUSSION.

A HOPEFUL SIGN.

THE leading article in the "*Bibliotheca Sacra*" for April discusses the doctrine of a Christian Probation in a tone so different from the one which has been customary in certain quarters as to encourage the hope that the era of fair discussion is at least at hand. The writer, Rev. Albert J. Lyman, Brooklyn, N. Y., maintains that the theory of future probation advocated by Dörner and others is (1) "*Not* a 'new departure.' It is the resuscitation of an old theory which has been held by some minds in almost every age of the church since the second century of the Christian era. It is new to New England, but not to Christendom. It is a new departure only from a provincial standpoint. The Andover bottle may be new, but the wine in it is old." (2) It "*is not* the doctrine of purgatory." (3) Nor, necessarily, "rationalism." (4) Nor "Unitarianism." (5) Nor "Universalism." (6) Nor "a cardinal heresy." We presume the writer would not change his italicised negatives if the particle "*Semi*" were prefixed to the leading substantive in each of these propositions. He says:—

"We associate the charge of heresy with the general notion of a future probation, *i. e.*, an unlimited 'chance' in the future. But in proportion as a

definite, final presentment of the historic Christ is insisted on, the gravely heretical element in the dogma subsides. . . . What we need, then, is discrimination. To fill the air with outcries against earnest Christian scholars who lean toward this view as being, of course, essential heretics, is, we submit, illogical and blind. It is the clamor of ignorance. As 'conservatives,' we shall gain nothing by it, for as soon as the subject is examined, the public will see that we have misrepresented our adversaries, and in our time when the light of public investigation is bright and hot, even to fierceness, upon all disputed issues, a misrepresentation always reacts against the man or the party that permits it. . . . If the pushing of this particular dogma appears to be a *symptom* of a general lapse from orthodox standards, then the case is changed in a moment, for so a substantial heresy may be *behind* the dogma, though not necessarily in it."

These are admirable observations, and specially valuable on account of the place in which they appear. It will be interesting to observe how far they will be reproduced in religious journals accustomed to compliment the "*Bibliotheca Sacra*" as a staunch defender of the faith. We should add that the author occasionally suggests a mild discrimination against Andover, so that his readers will not be left entirely comfortless, yet we suspect that such criticisms will be found to resemble the low, thin mists of an early June morning, which curl and vanish as the light grows stronger.

We would not leave the impression that the author in any degree favors the theory in question. The hope suggested by the article lies mainly in the new spirit it introduces into the discussion.

There is also some encouragement in the fact that the writer is sensitive to the need of a theology which is not provincial, but catholic, and which cannot justly be charged with illiberality. His main objection to the "new" theory is that it is "illiberal." He says first, "untenable," but the discussion of this point, as distinct from the other, is so slight as to betray no special care concerning it. We will notice his main objections:—

1. The illiberality of the proposed theory appears in its use of Scripture, and "the theory of inspiration which underlies that use." The writer seems to think that the theory rests upon three proof-texts, 1 Pet. iii. 19, Matt. xii. 32, 1 Pet. iv. 6; and that it commits its advocates to an outgrown conception of Scripture. This is a suggestive objection considering the place in which it appears. The pages of this REVIEW offer abundant evidence that we fully agree with the writer that "inspiration is not sporadic, but organic. True exegesis is not textual so much as documentary." The passages referred to have never been used by us in the old proof-text method. But they cannot be ignored, nor explained away, even though recognized as suggestive rather than dogmatic. More important still is the fact that the theory has been chiefly commended by us for its harmony with the character and aim of Christianity, as a natural outgrowth of fundamental Christian principles, as a reasonable inference

from the most characteristic doctrines of our faith. The writer's objection rests on misapprehension.

2. A second proof of illiberality which is presented is, the theory's "relation to the salvation of infants." It "throws uncertainty over the final destiny of infant children." This is a mere argument to popular prejudice. Why the theory has such an effect the writer does not show, and scarcely takes any pains to show. His only argument is that "probation" is inconsistent with "certainty," which makes an end at once of Calvinism. If Calvinism be abandoned, there is at least no more "uncertainty" on the theory of future grace than of unconscious, or semi-conscious, or sub-conscious, or any other suggested method of, infantile regeneration. Scripture does not disclose the method by which infants are saved. If the FACT of their salvation is revealed (our author seems to accept it as a "verdict" of the Christian consciousness) this fact is as sure to believers in an explicable theory as to believers in an inexplicable theory.

3. The theory, it is further urged, circumscribes and reduces the methods through which the truth of Christ may reach and save a soul. This is, to our thought, the only plausible objection the writer raises. But its force, as he states it, lies much in an exaggeration which amounts almost to caricature. He says, for instance :—

"We hold that our modern prophets of a specialized extension of probation are really confining and shutting up Christianity, when they thus assume that a man must have a definite, mental conception of an historic incarnation—we might almost say a materialized incarnation—a cross, a youth hanging thereon, a hill of Calvary, the scenery of the first century, in other words, the 'historic Christ'—as the only mental channel by which the truth of Christ can touch the man."

We cannot help suspecting that a reasoner who resorts to such a method of argument has no very strong confidence in his own objection. The phrase, "the historic Christ," is no favorite of ours. Our doctrine is, that the second Person of the Trinity is the Revealer of God, and that He carries revelation on and up to Incarnation, Redemption, and the eternal reign. We believe, as fully as our critic, that the truth of Christ "can reach men through a hundred channels." We do not deny that at any stage of divine revelation character can be formed which, under the divine tutelage, will certainly issue in the full and final salvation which, we are pleased to notice, is admitted to involve, "as a necessity of spiritual life hereafter," a presentation of Christ. Our contention is mainly this: Christianity, as authoritatively revealed, is God's purpose in Christ to seek and save the lost. All men are lost. The purpose to seek applies to every man. It is a reduction of Christianity below its own revealed purpose to suppose that God's seeking the vast majority of our race is restricted to such dealing with them as is realized under the conditions of paganism. This is where the illiberality, we would prefer to say the unchristianity, of the ordinary view appears. It fails to enter

into the sincerity, the reality, the persistency and power of God's desire to save men. Will our friendly critic question that Orthodoxy was illiberal — or, as we would say, unchristian — when it narrowed the atonement to the elect? Is it any the less so when it denies that God may press upon every soul that has sinned the motive of the Cross? Will he doubt for a moment that there is a constraining power in the love of Christ — known through the Cross — which is all its own?

Our critic strangely objects that our theory is "in the air." He afterwards says: "The liberal evangelical view is that the truth of Christ, properly and exactly so called, the truth of the divine law and love and sacrifice and redemption, can reach a child, for example, through its knowledge of its mother, or a woman through her affection for her child." Will it be also claimed that Christ's purpose to seek the lost is satisfied through the affection that exists between parent and child in heathenism?

Our critic fails to see that we can admit everything that he claims, on the side of liberality, so far as it can be proved, and is not "in the air," and that we also recognize something more, — and this something more is precisely what the Scriptures affirm to be the wisdom and power of God unto salvation. We admit that it would be illiberal to exclude any possible method of a divine seeking of man. Can it then be seriously maintained that a system is *liberal* because it recognizes the possibility of many partial, obscure, unconscious, or semi-conscious, divine drawings, and denies the possibility of that seeking in which the divine love, in its righteousness, wisdom, and power, fully reveals itself; and that another system is *illiberal* because, while it recognizes all divine revelations, it also deems it most congruous with the character of God and the nature of Christianity and the suggestions of Scripture to suppose that the supreme revelation will not be withheld from any for whom God became incarnate and made the sacrifice of the Cross?

The article before us in maintaining its thesis runs out into misapprehension, inconsistency, or antagonism to accepted evangelical truth, in a way which shows that the writer has started on a wrong track. But we have not space to dwell upon this, and prefer to close with recognizing again the Christian tone of the article, and the augury it gives that the "new" theory, which the writer justly characterizes as also "old," is to receive juster treatment at the hands of its opponents.

IS A FOREIGN MISSIONARY IN SPECIAL DANGER OF HERESY?

President W. W. Patton answers this question in a keen and sensible article in the April number of the "New Englander and Yale Review." He first explains how so seemingly unnecessary an inquiry has arisen. When a certain hypothesis, designed to point out a possible application of the doctrine of a universal atonement, and to relieve a very serious practical, as well as theoretical, difficulty, was first advocated, it excited little opposition. A proposal in the Creed Commission to adopt a statement antagonistic to it was rejected, partly because it was shown that the

text of Scripture which it was urged should be used to condemn it could not properly be so employed, partly because it was impossible to state a dogma of the universal decisiveness of this life which would not immediately require important qualifications, and partly because it was not thought best to make prominent what otherwise might not attract much attention. Those who cherished the expectation implied in the last of these three reasons were baffled by the folly of men who agreed with them in not favoring the proposed theory. It had found favor at Andover. Immediately its Seminary was violently assailed, and an attempt was made to use the American Board "to perform the disfellowshipping act which the Creed Commission and the ordinary ecclesiastical councils of the denomination had refused to perform." "The result has been to fill the land with debate on the question of a possible continued probation for heathen dying without hearing of Christ; to excite inquiry about it in thousands and tens of thousands of church-members who previously had never heard of the speculation; to put all theological students, in particular, upon its careful consideration; to compel every missionary and missionary-candidate to take it up; to draw attention to the refusal of one third of the Board thus to exclude it from toleration; and to create for the 'Andover heresy' that powerful sympathy, especially among youthful minds, which always gathers, at the present day, around new views which are harshly assailed. If, in the end, the Andover hypothesis should gain a wide currency, if it should have a success in five years, such as would not ordinarily have attended it in twenty, the result may be attributed to those superserviceable brethren who have done their best to advertise it to the world."

The exposure created by this discussion may be thought to beset men who stay at home as well as those who go abroad. Dr. Patton, therefore, proceeds to show that the opinion is influentially held, in certain quarters, that foreign missionaries are in peculiar peril. He adduces the speech of Dr. Pentecost, at Springfield, before the American Board, in which he contended that there is a great difference in this respect between pastors of churches at home and their brethren in foreign service. His crowning proof is the rejection, at Springfield, by a majority of fifty-two, of Dr. Fisher's resolution, which affirmed that "the missionaries of this Board shall have the same right of private judgment in the interpretation of God's Word, and the same freedom of thought and of speech, as are enjoyed by their ministerial brethren in this country."

Having shown that he is not dealing with a man of straw, President Patton presents cogent reasons for rejecting the opinion that the home work is "safer" than the foreign, and makes this application of his conclusion: "But, if such be the truth, why should the American Board be afraid to act in accordance with it? Why not concede an equal liberty of thought to faithful laborers in all fields? We are filled with grief and shame, that our noble band of foreign missionaries should be placed under special suspicion, and be treated with peculiar distrust."

TESTIMONY OF A MISSIONARY.

President Patton publishes an interesting testimony, which he introduces as evidence that the "speculation" respecting a future offer of Christ to those who die without knowledge of Him here had a practical as well as theoretical motive. He quotes as follows, "from a letter of an English Episcopal missionary in Japan":—

"One of the things which, most of all, pains and torments these Japanese is, that we teach them the prison of hell is irrevocably shut, so that there is no egress. They grieve over the fate of their departed children, parents, and relatives, and often show their grief by tears. They ask us if there is any hope; any way to free them by prayer from that eternal misery, and I am obliged to answer there is absolutely none. Their grief at this affects and torments them wonderfully, they almost pine away with sorrow. They often ask if God cannot take their father out of hell? and why their punishment must never have an end? They do not cease to grieve, and I can hardly restrain my tears at seeing men so dear to my heart suffer such intense pain. Such thoughts have, I imagine, risen in the hearts of missionary teachers of all churches. Again and again, I and my brother missionaries were questioned by people about their dead parents and forefathers who had not heard the gospel. These distressed hearts asked if they could pray for their ancestors. I have had most painful scenes, as I think many American church missionaries have had."

DR. BRIGGS ON "THE APOCALYPSE OF JESUS."

The "Presbyterian Review" for April contains an article by Professor Briggs upon "The Apocalypse of Jesus," as he fitly styles the discourse in which our Lord predicts the downfall of Judea and his own second coming. The author subjects the Apocalypse to a careful analysis, and discusses the exegetical problems to which it gives rise with his wonted acuteness and candor. Without undertaking to give an exhaustive analysis of the article, we may mention these among his leading conclusions: 1. That Christ predicts that He will come in person at the end of the present dispensation to judge the world, heralded by great cosmic phenomena. 2. That this his Parousia will take place after his gospel shall have been preached among all nations. 3. That the downfall of Judea and the destruction of the temple stand apart from this event in the discourse. 4. That the language attributed by the Synoptists to our Lord does not imply a close connection in point of time between the two events. The *εὐθὺς* of Matt. xxiv. 29 does not actually mean "immediately," but is to be interpreted according to the canons of prophetic usage, as denoting an indefinite period of time. The subsequent declaration that "this generation shall not pass until all those things be accomplished," probably refers to the signs of the Parousia, and not to the event itself.

As regards the last thesis we believe that many readers of the article will wish that the arguments supporting it were more convincing. We at least must demur at what seems to us the liberty taken with Matthew's *εὐθὺς*. If it is assumed throughout the discourse that its words have the

meaning given to them by other writers in Greek, is it not arbitrary to assign to a single word a meaning not supported by Greek usage, and one far different from the usual sense? Besides, Mark's "in those days after that tribulation," seems intended to put the Parousia into temporal juxtaposition with the event just described. If he had wished to imply that an indefinite interval separated them, he would have said "the days." Nor can we think that the signs of the Parousia, as distinct from the Parousia itself, can be made the subject of the explicit time prediction contained in Matt. xxiv. 34. The events foretold are indications of the proximity of the Parousia. They are to be recognized when they appear as showing that Christ's coming is near, even at the doors. They are as certain proof of its speedy coming as is the leaving of the fig-tree of the proximity of summer. If Christ predicted that these harbingers of his Parousia would occur within the lifetime of the contemporaneous generation, how could He have thought that the event they were to usher in might not take place for many centuries?

We may add that an earlier prediction of our Lord, recorded in Matt. xvi. 27, 28, in which his coming to judge the world seems to be put within the limit of his hearers' lifetime, ought to be taken into account in determining the time attributed to Christ's second coming in the Synoptic report of his great Parousia discourse.

BIBLICAL AND HISTORICAL CRITICISM.

ISAIAH AND ZION; OR, THE DEVELOPMENT OF THOUGHT IN ISAIAH.

A STUDY IN THE HISTORY OF HEBREW RELIGION.

(Continued from page 431.)

II.

We turn to Isaiah's early story.

1. He was born probably about 770 or 760 B. C. That was a time of manifold importance in the world's history, for the two great peoples of the West were then just awaking into consciousness, while the old nations of the Euphrates' regions were recalling and recording their ancient and their more modern story to be read by us on buried slabs to-day. But perhaps the greatest, far the most subtle, of all the factors for later history was the wondering about God that was moving the heart of the young Jew Isaiah in Jerusalem. We can almost fancy his boyhood amid the houses and lanes of the rocky capital, while as he played he watched his tribe's chief, named Uziah, "Fortress of Jahweh," building his new fortresses about the city. Perhaps the boy scarcely dreamed that this loved Zion had ever been aught but the sacred centre of the whole world's strength. Did he play beneath the shadows of the venerable sanctuary; did he not step beside his "firm-treading" father, Amoz, along those aisles and toward those altars that had stood now three hundred years?

Did he not gaze in wonder at the grandeur and splendor a wise Solomon had founded, and the follies of many an unwise successor had scarcely marred? Surely to the young poet-soul that sanctuary was the very abode of the God of the Ages, the glorious earthly throne of Jahweh's glory.

Doubtless the lad heard often in these wide courts the rapt utterances of strangely-clad seers from southern ravine and rock, or from more northern fruitful vale. Surely he strayed after these men of God, as through dark lane they threaded out to market square, crying aloud of sin and for the right. Certainly the lad loved to hasten home and, in some quiet corner of the housetop, to pore over and ponder the written words of the old prophets who had been, and to store in memory their burdened cries and their wondrous faiths. So surely he learned those old words that others learned as well as he, so full of high and happy hope, and that he was to set for the text of his first sad lament over his country. The words prophesied that light should flow out of Zion, but it was Isaiah himself who should fill the prophecy with truth. His words and his faith should be the light to save and bless home and all men. In his later years he should compel the brilliant beams of all the past into one bright focus, because they were heaven's own rays: then that form's brightness should illumine the very past itself, and should shine on through all coming ages to lighten men on their way to God, and to lighten the very face of God himself.

2. In those early years came at length a great strange experience. The great chieftain Uzziah lay a-dying; aye, it may be, that already his cold form lay hidden in the rocky tombs, and his spirit had returned to God from its long and busy toil. Had this failing of the "strength of men" sent the young Isaiah away to the sanctuary to sit silent, shaken to the soul by this strange thing, a king's death? Such a thing as a king's death the boy had never known before, and scarcely even had his father known it, for the like had not been in Judah for nearly half a century. Did the trembling soul by instinct draw toward God for help? He should tremble yet more awfully ere he should find God's rest. Bowed and covered he sat, buried in his thought. Then God shook the earth. The venerable pile's mightiest foundation-stones shook, the boy's heart quivered, bright flashes flew across the darkened halls, a light that was not of earth filled the boy's soul. He saw God. He saw and lived, and while he lay stricken to the earth with awe, God talked with him and he with God. The high theme of converse amid the heavenly ministrants there seemed to the lad to be the holy care of Jahweh for his own. And yet that care was troubled, for God could not speak all his will to men. God was suppliant, and sought man's helping voice to speak for Him to Judah. The invitation was a command, a gift of voice and life, and the young man arose filled with a sense of divine commission.

3. What was his commission?

(a.) The question becomes complicated at once when we reflect on the familiar position of the story of the vision in the course of the book. Why does it not stand at the beginning? Does its position in chapter vi. mean that the vision came in this relative position in the prophet's life? Had he already prophesied in the spirit of the earlier chapters, and did this vision come as a new revelation to introduce a new period and, perhaps, a new sort of utterance? Or was this theophany the occasion of

the lad's first dedication of himself to the prophet's work? Was here his first call and ordaining, as are commonly supposed?

(b.) Dates do not help us much. If Uzziah's death fell, not about 760, as the old-fashioned chronology supposed, but as late as 750, as the newer and juster calculations say, and if Isaiah's death fell about 700, when his prophecies cease, then to take chapter vi. as the story of the initial vision would be to count the prophet as a lad of some fifteen to twenty years in 750, and a man of sixty-five to seventy at his final words and death. This seems a reasonable theory, and it agrees with the tenor of the story of the vision, for that would seem an unnatural picture, if the man receiving the summons and obeying it had already been the stern, keen, mighty prophet of the early chapters. And yet if the vision came to the young heart as the first call to speak, there must be some reason why it is not placed at the beginning, but only here at the close of those first terrible chapters (chapters ii.-v.). Our wonder over the vision grows intense as we think that perhaps Isaiah himself wrote down or told the tale long years after he had obeyed the call. The man in his searching after God seems to look back across the vista of years, full of hopes and toils and failures; he seems to wonder whether he had in his first young eagerness taken in all the deep meaning of the revelation. And now in the light of the experience God has given him, that vision that comes to every man and is the divinest theophany of all, he recalls the early scene, justifying indeed the work he has already done, for the impulse to it was all given in that sacred hour, but feeling now that far more was given then than that he did not comprehend, truth far higher, far diviner, that was then, perhaps, too big for his soul, but that now he will lift up before men and proclaim to the end ever more and more fully. This seems the natural theory.

(c.) But perhaps the vision came after his first period of prophesying. In this case the year 750, when Uzziah died, must have found him already a man of strength and skill, a man of some twenty-five to thirty years, and his death would fall in his seventy-fifth to eightieth year. The theory is certainly possible, but it does not agree with the tenor of the call and the response. And, if it did, the vision would still be the introduction to a new period, whose prophesying is remarkably different from that of the early years and chapters. It is this difference which is so remarkable in the course of Isaiah's work.

(d.) There is possible of course the farther theory, that not Isaiah, but compilers, arranged the order of the chapters. This would only signify that the progress in Isaiah's thought and aim had been seen long ago by the compilers, who placed the story of the vision where it is. To suppose that the compilers invented a progress, and arranged and moulded the passages to illustrate it, would simply be to make the compiler into the Isaiah whose advance in thought we are recording; for the fitness of the passages to the theory is very remarkable, as we shall see. We may perhaps leave untouched the remaining theory, that the position of passages in the book is due to haphazard collection. To discuss that theory would be fruitless toil; better assume any of the others.

(e.) Let us enumerate, then, the various *momenta* of the vision as worded in c. vi., and leave the estimate of each one's influence on Isaiah to be calculated when the particular influence comes into play.

a. Clearly the Amosian doctrine of stern judgment, and a remnant only spared, is prominent. Isaiah proclaimed the faith, "A remnant shall return," as Mr. Matthew Arnold has said, and the prophet stamped

the faith on a living monument when he gave the name "Shear-Yashubh" ("When a remnant remaineth") to his boy; but Isaiah had learned that faith from Amos.

β. In the vision the prominent character of Jahweh was Holiness (Qodhesh). This "Holiness" meant "Devotion," as the words of Hosea have already suggested; and here again we find Isaiah reflecting the prominent faith of the second great master of the past. We shall look at the meaning of this word more closely later on, meantime we can see that it is the Devotion or Grace of Jahweh that fills the thoughts of the heavenly ministrants in the vision, and it is that Grace which moves the God who spares the prophet, who seeks man's help to serve man, and who, amid judgment, will yet remember mercy. This is evident, although the commission seems to end in dark severity, barely touched with light.

γ. But there is a third element in the vision. The revelation is in the Zion sanctuary. The importance of this fact will shine out when we read presently the almost scornful taunt at Zion's hopes in cc. ii.-v., and then the central significance of Zion in all the later period.

4. To prepare for a true estimate of this importance, let us look back on the story of Zion hitherto.

(a.) Few students are unaware that only three and a half centuries before Isaiah's day Jerusalem was not a Hebrew town at all, but alien from both Judah and Israel. While David was reigning in Hebron, the future seat of his long dynasty was the stronghold of his bitter enemies, the Jebusites. David reduced their fortress, and both his military skill and his statesmanlike tact were made notable forever by his choice of that spot of neutral ground as the seat of his government over the united north and south.

(b.) In David's day, and long before, Shiloh seems to have held pre-eminent rank as chief sanctuary among the many sacred places where David and Samuel, the judges and the patriarchs, had worshiped. For many a generation after David the abandonment of Shiloh was reckoned not as a joyful honor for Zion, but as a disgrace and sad descent from Shiloh. No Zion had been, if Shiloh had not sinned.

(c.) David built an altar to Jahweh in Jerusalem, but his sanctuary there was of the simplest, nomadic order. Where he met God, there, like Jacob, he sacrificed. Solomon built a magnificent temple where his father had prayed, and lavished upon it his own rich skill and the immense wealth and strength his greater father had won and left. Solomon dazzled the sight of his austere people with this sanctuary, glorious like the splendid piles and glittering symbols of Tyre and her rich orient sisters. The great family, too, of the Gods must all lodge in this grand home, for power over all peoples from Egypt to Euphrates must be symbolized by the assembly of all the heavenly lords in this one central abode. The simple worshipers of Jahweh must wander through a pantheon to find their own loved God, if haply they still prefer him over all other glorious members of that host.

(d.) There is an undercurrent of connection, not obscurely expressed, between that Solomonic luxuriance and religious eclecticism and the speedy revolt of the northern tribes from the house of David. Thereafter those northern tribes never worshiped at Jerusalem so long as the kingdom of the north existed; and for the unhappy division of the kingdoms Solomon's religious unwisdom seems to have been much to blame. The division was a heavy blow to Judah and to David's throne, but it was

a heavier blow to Zion. Zion had been largely the occasion of division, and of injury to kings and people; the fulfillment of the prediction that she would be a centre of light and love for all nations seemed impossible.

(e.) For ages even Judah herself did not consent to worship in Mount Zion; the temple's grandeur did not overcome the popular preference for the many local shrines. Certainly there seem to have been few shrines in the bare, poor south, as compared with the rich Ephraim's many sacred spots; yet a hundred years after Isaiah's day there were plenty of outside altars to be destroyed by Josiah. Jeremiah himself was one of the Anathoth priests, and hence perhaps his condemnation of Zion. The inhabitants of the capital city must have learnt to honor her temple as the best of all; yet Isaiah quotes as his opening text the old prophetic hope for Zion only to turn away in scornful taunt and bitter condemnation of her unworthiness. To Isaiah in an hour more bitter still, and more desolate, a new vision of the Devotion of Jahweh in that very temple was to be given that should change and recast his estimate of God and men, and even of earth itself.

We open then the prophet's book to read the words of his first period, knowing somewhat of the influences from men and things that had played upon his soul to make the words we read. God had spoken in all these: we listen to the inspired words.

III. THE EARLY PERIOD AND DISCOURSES.

(cc. ii. to v. 24; ix. 8-21; v. 25-end. 740 to 736 B. C.)

1. These passages seem to date from about 740 B. C., when the glory of Uzziah's reign had passed away, and Jotham's regency and reign had altered the State but little, for either worse or better. Ahaz was on the throne. He was gifted, but surely graceless; thoughtful and studious, but without grasp; religious and even superstitious, but without faith; fond of beauty, but the prey of effeminacy; David's son, but a waster and no savior of David's people.

It may be that the prophet had been utterly silent in the long years between the vision of 750 and these discourses in 740. Perhaps the Hosean influence was breathed upon him then like a fragrant breeze wooing him to long-suffering; while he, strong, high-souled, stern young man that he was, leaned hard toward the sterner doctrine of Amos. It may be that the long silence is a mark of hidden but hard wrestling between judgment and mercy. It may be that while he was all uncertain whether he ought to follow the one great leader or the other, the noble soul severely controlled his own severity and forbore to speak. It is worthy of note again, that doubtless in these years was born to him that son whom he named "Shear Jashubh" ("it is a remnant that shall return"). He bade, as it were, his child carry ever in his very name such echo of the stern Tekoan's voice, that the father calling to his son might ever speak with reverence the very oracle given by the Great Preacher of Righteousness.

2. But he, who so sternly forbore to speak, could at length forbear no longer. The times were rotten. Not the little lad's name alone must cry a warning: the father's soul, full to breaking with God's indignation, must break out into awful prophecy. Now if ever must Amos's loud condemnations be sounded aloud again: now there shall burst from

Isaiah's soul the most terrible oracle of sin and judgment that the literature of the world contains.

The fierce cry of scorned love heaps scorn upon the scornors. Scorn is the theme and substance of all these prophecies from the second chapter through the fifth.

3. They open, as we have seen, with quotation of a well-known hope in words of a prophet of older time (ii. 2-5). But Isaiah turns from the hope for a light from Zion that shall lighten all the tribes, to picture the sad present, all superstition, all folly, all evil. He knows the hope, he has surely shared it; but he scorns the hollow claim that Jahweh is now manifest in that sanctuary. A torrent of awful eloquence bursts forth and rolls on; until, as if in sheer exhaustion, the bitter scorn that forbids a present boast rests in a hope which itself is mixed with bitterness. "If Jahweh shall ever send a burning wind to clean away by awful fire the filth of Zion's best — even her daughters — then at the last there may float over every home in David's city the smoky sign of reverential, joyful feasting" (iv. 4-5). May we not pause to wonder over this high estimate, written so long ago, of woman's significance for weal or woe! How fine this faith that a pure home is God's pure sanctuary, and a homely hearth his altar. Who will not often kiss the page where such words stand, saying, "Surely God was in this man." At every turn of the old leaves the reader shall see God. Blest are the readers; surely the vision of God shall save them from pain and sin.

But the people who heard this voice from God were far away from God; they were reveling in deadly folly. The fire must burn on to burn away the death. Biting sarcasm heaped on Judah's teachers, sharp satire leveled at her gay harems, scorn that beats in thunderous hail on men who scorn God — these are the prophet's only hope, but they are all uttered in the saddest tone. In the "Song of the Outstretched Arm" (v. 25, etc.), the sadness swells into a ceaseless sigh of woe, and a wild knell of despair. The young prophet has again taken from old Amos (Amos iv.) the very form of his dirge; but he has grown sterner and far sadder than his master. The swift ravens lions from afar roar to our very ears; they crouch; they leap before our eyes upon poor Judah. The shriek dies away into a low moan like the moaning of the cold sea. On earth all is black; heaven is pallid over by the smoke of earth. The prophecy is all dark: the prophet's own soul is in darkness, for the prophet of judgment must dwell in the gloom he brings.

4. Observe one feature of his language. He seems to press aside all thought of the "holiness" (Qodhesh) or "special devotion" of Jahweh, as a jewel too precious for the touch of heartless men. Perhaps rather it is that he exalts that "love" as the great Divine dignity that has been despised, but which shall be vindicated in fierce destructions and awful righteousness. For only twice in all this set of discourses does he use the words "Israel's Holy One"; and only twice more in all the period do we find the word "holy" used. Like Amos, Isaiah avoids the words; and in each case when the words are used it is certainly in the way in which Amos would have used them. In iv. 3, after the sentence of certain death on all who sin, comes the uncertain hope that all who are left alive in Jerusalem may be called "holy," *i. e.*, devoted to their God. In v. 16 the prophet declares his dread faith that when proud men are all laid low then Jahweh's own holiness, his "devotion," shall be recognized in the unwavering firmness of his awful judgments. In v. 19 Isaiah quotes

the blasphemous sneer of the debauchee over the name "the Holy One." "Let this devoted God use more speed in his devoted work," they cry, not knowing that the long-suffering of God is their life. The prophet cries in answer, "Woe! woe! for the hot wickedness is itself a hot fire burning as the tongue of flame devoureth the dry grass." With word and indignation that together wax white-hot he calls down quick destruction on those "who have despised the Holy One of Israel."

5. Psychologically, or shall we say religio-psychologically, Isaiah's story is typical. It is an excellent clinical study for the theory of conversion and revival in religious experience. See, first, how the gifted lad is full of reverence. The sacred city of his fathers and his king is the honored altar of his own enthusiasm. A higher reverence still he has: the father-prophet's thoughts of God fill his soul, and hold his unconscious trust. As the boy grows into youth his heart is heavy with wonderings, but there is not yet the quick bright flash of purpose. It comes. A startling scene throws out in front one path resultant of many. That commands the young man's whole will: it is to him the path of God. The converging lines that make that path were all there before, but tangled: now they are woven into one, that is also regulated by the age and disposition of the man. To this young, strong heart and hand a strong devotion answering the devotion of Jahweh seems easy. But when his enthusiasm is mocked, then reverence turns to the hot indignation over the godless. For reverence and indignation are nearly akin, and in youth the change is quick and easy.

But the hottest fire burns low, and the hardest blows weary the striker. Aye more, blows do not persuade, and the law that falls like a rod arouses in the unloving heart resistance angrier than before.

The law speaks forth "Thou shalt"; the bitter soul cries out calm and unflinching, "I will not." Then sinks the young enthusiast's soul. When the demand breeds more refusal, the failure fills the spirit with despair. Many a fresh devoted toiler goes forth in the morning with hands full of good seed to return at night broken-hearted. Then we need revival. So was it with Isaiah: his young preaching ended in failure and gloom.

But the dawn was drawing near; for man's extremity is God's opportunity. God's great revelations have always come in the hour of man's great need; and when other helpers fail, then men think of the power of the unseen God.

IV. THE HOUR OF CHANGE. (736 B. C., cc. 6-9.)

1. It was about the year 736 B. C. that the weakling, harem-guided Ahaz was threatened by two strong and allied tribes. Samaria and Syria were in league to harry Judah and depose its chief. The people of Jerusalem trembled as the leaves of the forest tremble in the wind.

Isaiah was ever tender to his fellows when trouble fell. The man who thundered threatenings against wrong done in sunny days sprang to the defense against a foreign foe, for the same strength was strong against every enemy, whether from within or from without. Therefore on a day when Ahaz examined his defenses, Isaiah went out to meet him with counsel and with cheer. It was a heavy task to inspire this heartless prince; it was all the heavier that the prophet came leading by the hand his boy "Shear-Jashub" ("If a Remnant return"), the symbol of the stern Amosian judgment. His words, too, were the stern Amosian demand. "Believe, and live. Seek Jahweh. Lay hold in confidence on

Him who causeth all things, and He will cause thee to conquer. Demand thou that God do even change his own laws for thee. As I demand of thee, demand thou now from Him."

Was it strange that Isaiah should expect such strength in one who was named Ahaz ("strong to grasp"), who sought to grasp the stars, and to mark their moving on his famous sun-dial? This man sought even to lay hold on gods, and bring their power with their altars from afar. And yet was it altogether strange that just this man turned coldly away from belief in divine interpositions? Grasp of a law of Nature is not always grasp of Nature's heart; and devotion to altar forms may not be faith in God's love. Ahaz stood withered like a rootless reed before the life-breathing wind of Isaiah's inspiration. He would not put Jahweh to the test, but stood cold, strengthless, beside the prophet's fire, and amid his people's danger.

2. Isaiah's hope of help from Judah through this man died. Then in pale agony of indignation, of pity, of utter need, the seer's soul sank, he fell; but he fell upon the breast of God. He had seemed alone, alone his loved people; but he beholds God with him and with them. He cries, "Immanuel."

Ahaz had refused to ask a sign, but here God had given his own sign, a kindling faith in his own presence. God is the sign. Is He not here in this inspiration of trust and joy; is He not at hand in the very tokens of his presence in the past, in the faithful words that seers of old wrote, in that sanctuary where many a time his presence has blessed the fathers and Isaiah too? The king may not see God, but he may see the prophet rise filled with glad remembrance, touched with great solemnity, thrilled into intensest consciousness of God-Present.

3. Is this vision something too spiritual for the cold-souled king? It shall become incarnate. Man's hunger for the food of sense may never go hungry away; for that hunger is ordained of God, and God will surely feed it. The Immanuel-Gospel shall not be preached in fleeting words alone, but a child's life shall come from God to bear the glad sound, and in the name to echo the prophet's great faith. As the older lad has borne the sad name Shear-Jashubh, and by his very presence has recalled Amos's dread sentence: so now a babe shall come to take upon his life this new name and Gospel.

4. Here, then, is the daybreak o'er Isaiah's soul. The word "Immanuel" is the testimony and symbol that he sees Jahweh's character now as never before. "God, Jahweh, can — does abide with even sinful Judah, to bless us." Here Isaiah soars away beyond Amos and Hosea; he has searched far deeper "what manner of things the spirit of God in them and him doth signify." Amos knew Jahweh's Love, Devotion, "Qodhesh," but counted that its range covered good souls only. Hosea knew more, for to him Jahweh could never come to destroy; yet this Hosean Love was scarcely the grace which is "Favor to the Fallen," for he thought all his people were really good at heart, and the nature not bad at all. They had only gone astray through sensual excitement, and were sure to turn to good when shut away from temptations. But Isaiah sees God beaming grace upon the evil-doer. God has come to these; He is among them. Has He not chosen Zion, the abode of this Ahaz, for his place of manifestation? Has not Isaiah beheld Him there? The old faith abides: "Wheresoever I reveal My face, and record My name, thither will I ever come again and bless thee." Zion is therefore surely

the sanctuary of this God of Grace, and evermore shall be the place of Grace, the mercy-seat for sinful Judah. This new Gospel shall be henceforth Isaiah's whole prophecy.

As he goes out on the new glad career he gazes back over the vista of years on the vision of old. There Jahweh had told him all, but he had not understood it. There he had seen Jahweh, and from his own face there had beamed Life that did not slay, from the heart of each ministrant had come reflected the Love, the Faith, the Cry, Qadhosh:—Qadhosh, Qadhosh, Holy Devoted; ever, ever Devoted. That Love had begotten the prophet's first love, it was true Divine Love; and now it inspires the new, glad, mighty Gospel for the ages to come.

I think I might say, "Here was the Christ."

5. A brief word is due on the real meaning of Q-D-Sh., and its various forms, which we have seen, or may see. I will put first one or two more general arguments.

(a.) The consequences of theophany must suggest something of its nature; but, of course, we have to look at the vision as it was seen and estimated by the prophet the second time, not as he looked on it the first time, for of that experience we have not really a record.

Observe, then, that the vision of the holy Jahweh wrought, first, a sense of sin; then a sense of forgiveness; and, finally, a sense of commission and power. Such holiness must have been that utter moral goodness which is perfect love. Its consequences would never have been wrought by an attitude or an attribute of separation from men: this holiness must have been an approach to men.

(b.) If we trace the Hebrew idea of holiness through the ceremonial age after the Exile, we shall see that the Levitical argument, "Be ye holy, because Jahweh is holy," means "Jahweh is devoted to you, caring for you only among all nations; therefore care ye likewise for Him only among all deities. Bear ye his ensigns, for He has adopted you as his followers." The essential feature in the holiness is the mutual devotion of master and follower. Of course, the followers of one chieftain are *separate* from another chieftain's flag and provisions; but the *devotion*, and not the *separation*, is the essential matter. Men who are essentially "separated" men are essentially followers of nobody.

(c.) Clearer still is the devotion that fills and makes up all the Holiness that we read of in Jesus. Probably it is a true echo of his own words, and certainly it is of his thoughts, that speaks in the verses, "Sanctify them in Thy truth," "For their sakes I sanctify Myself." He spoke thus on the eve of his crucifixion. Perhaps he knew not all that He should accomplish, but of this there is no doubt that He was filled with devotion unto death. His was not a holiness of separation from sinful men, but He came unto his own, even when they received Him not. Holiness is here,—that love that clasps souls to the heart, though the souls be foul and the clasp cost death.

(d.) Philological argument need not be extensive, for the matter is simple, if but simply handled. The meaning of the stem Q-D-Sh. can be discovered only through its actual use in its various derivations. Of these, observe first:—

(a.) Qadhosh. Jahweh is called Israel's Qadhosh. Note that the form is infinitive, the *nomen actionis*; and, moreover, the form is not "stative," but distinctly active. Therefore Jahweh is one great act toward

Israel. He is not passive, set apart by Israel; He is essentially active. Certainly He is not viewed by the Hebrew as a Being hedged away by Israel from touch of Israel's life, but rather as the great Actor himself. He is not set apart from Israel, else why should He not be set apart from other men as well? He is not the Qadhosh of all men. He bears a relation of ceaseless — not repeated, but ceaseless — activity toward Israel. Duhm has suggested this, holding that while Jahweh is "Exalted" toward all the earth, He is "Holy," or Qadhosh, toward his own people Israel. The word thus seems to express the peculiar relation a God bears to the people of his choice. The student of the Old Testament needs no reminder that some such relation is constantly in the mind of the Hebrew writers ("Ye shall be My people; I will be your God"), and the technical term for this relation is Qadhosh. Therefore to us the expression "appropriated" is almost equivalent, but devoted is "better," because it connotes Jahweh's own action in the appropriation. Jahweh, the Qadhosh of Israel, is that God who has appropriated himself to Israel. Professor Robertson Smith has reminded us that the other Semitic nations use the term Qadhosh, or its parallels, as divine titles, each nation applying them to its own national God. We find evidence of this in our Old Testament literature itself.

(β.) For Qaddishin is the term applied to the gods by the Babylonian queen in Daniel v. 11 (Aramaic). The difference in form is partly due to the difference of the Aramaic mode of thought from the Hebrew; but this certainly suggests also the difference in religious character in the different lands and at the different periods of time. The Hebrew word (a Qal) spoke of Jahweh as *one* act or character; the Aramaic (in a Piel form) thinks of the gods as putting forth frequently repeated acts of devotion. The latter devotion is intermittent, not so great and peaceful as the former. Compare the difference between Cadoq and Caddiq.

But note further that the Aramaic story attributes to the Babylonian people the same estimate of their own God's feeling toward Babel which the Hebrews had of Jahweh's relation to Israel. Each Semitic people regarded its own god as its own "holy one." "Holy" means "devoted unto."

(γ.) The notion of purity or cleanness, in the modern sense, was not implied in the word for the devotion of the "devoted one," may take a very questionable form. The Qadeshim and Qadheshoth were prostitutes, sacrificing body, honor, and life to the supposed pleasure of the Deity. It is important to observe that in these two words it is not a passive form that is used, but the stative form is chosen as exactly fitted to the case. The devotees are not yielded by another's act: they stand in a condition that is neither passive nor strictly active.

(δ.) The remaining term is "Qudhsh," or "Qodhesh," the term applied to a "holy thing," and often translated "holiness," as in "my holy hill" (literally, "hill of holiness, mine"). This word is a strict passive, as its vowel indicates, and as the nature of the case requires. It evidently signifies "some appropriated thing." We have set it last in order, whereas it comes first in derivation; but it may serve now to lead us back to the actual root-signification.

(ε.) Arranging, then, all the terms in derivative order, we have: —

- (i.) Q. Dh. Sh. = Appropriate, or Devote.
- (ii.) Qodesh = A thing appropriated or devoted.

- (iii.) Qadhosh = "*Nomen actionis*," a great act of Devotion; or, used as "adjective" concerning a person, it means, "One who is all devoted to some one else, and is all in all to them."
- (iv.) Qadhesh = A motionless devotee.
- (v.) Qaddish (Aramaic) = One ever devoting himself, a *numen proprium*.
- (vi.) Then may follow the commonly-used Qaddesh, correctly translated "sanctify," or "devote," "show devotion." Equivalent is the causative "Hiqdish." Other words have easily consequent significations.

(e.) Finally, the suggestion of Duham, that the idea is an æsthetic one, springs from the same mistake whence grows the current notion that "to be holy" is essentially "to be separate from something." Of course such "separation from this or that" would be undertaken by the self-separator for the supposed honor of the Deity: and there might be a badge of separation, a symbol, a befitting robe, and in all cases an æsthetic mark. But the generalization fails when it touches the chief member of the genus. Jahweh, too, is holy, and in him the essential quality is not "separation from," but "devotion to." Isaiah's faith was that Jahweh was thrice holy, in that he descended upon Zion and dwelt there, amid Judah, although Judah and its king were evil. Moreover, He came to the end that He might save. His holiness was his essential forgiving, no mere æsthetic garb, but grace.

5. Here, then, is the work of this hour of change. The prophet, in despair through the very judgment himself had uttered, finds "Jahweh is not man, but a god, the Holy One of Israel, who comes not to destroy," but to bless the sinner. Hosea's faith is fulfilled, and Amos's quest for good and for Jahweh is in some sense answered. Zion, the sanctuary, the mere place of sacrifice, cannot save; but Zion, the symbol of declaration of Jahweh's forgiving love, does speak peace to the weary Hebrew soul. That peace fills Isaiah, and flows from his heart in all the prophecies of his remaining days. The demonstration of this by a rapid sketch of these prophecies will be the conclusion of our argument.

V. THE CHANGED PROPHECY; OR, THE NEW GOSPEL OF GRACE IN ZION.
(736-700 B. C.)

A. SAFETY. (736-722. cc. vi.—ix., xvii., xiv., xxviii.)

1. The first-fruit of the change is manifest in the record of the first vision, recorded long years after, as we have seen. The new faith lifts the prophet amid great darkness to declare his comfortable hope (c. vi. 13), that although desolation may cover Judah's homes, yet the holy, devoted seed shall never be cut off. "As when an oak-tree is cut down its stump still lives and sprouts;" so in Judah there shall ever abide, not "a remnant" merely, but "a true remnant, the certain seed of a devoted nation." We read the Iliad, and wonder at the great store of figure that flows ever from old Homer's pen to adorn the majestic verse; but here, in the Hebrew's sublimer, because truer, epic of Righteousness and Grace, Isaiah's pen too can trace abundant graceful figure, for beauty is always the garb of life.

2. Professor de Lagarde has pointed out that cc. vii. to ix. are a cento of genuine Isaian utterances, arranged by a later hand. The inspiring theme of the prophet had then become the grand traditional faith of the redactor's day; the thread that strings and carries the jewels of the cento is woven of the very substance of the jewels. Zion, Jahweh's

abode, is the grand strain, rolling through all the symphony. The great talisman "Immanuel" sounds again and again to enforce the argument or to kindle cheer (vii. 15; viii. 8, 11); and the ground of all joy is the faith that Jahweh dwells in Zion. The people that once were in darkness have seen a great light: for light has shone from Zion, that lightens up the far-off coasts of Zebulun and Naphtali (viii. 18; ix. 1). That light is to be incarnate, and manifest in the life, and name, and deeds of one who is now an infant, a prince of the Davidic line, a prince of the house of Zion.

3. A striking sequel to these words is a passage in c. xvii., dating from about 735, where Isaiah predicts a final catastrophe for the Syro-Samaritan league. "In that day," he writes, with a skill of style and figure which no translation can reproduce, "men shall trust no altars nor any other symbols; but all shall look with faith to Him whose name and whose nature are 'The Maker.' For the God of all things is the Holy One of Israel, Israel's Saving God." (xvii. 7-10.)

It is notable that this prophecy against all altars does not even pause to except Zion. The utterance comes from the transition period, like a momentary self-assertion of the old Amosian austerity, while the prophet's soul is all-absorbed in exquisite meditation on Jahweh's gracious love.

4. Ten years sped away, and in 727 Ahaz lay a-dying (c. xiv. 28). Then Isaiah wrote an oracle of great significance, which he repeated five years later still, in 722, when Salman-Assur's and Sargon's blows were shaking Samaria to its fall (c. xxviii.). When Judah's royal seat was hung about with the blackness and danger that marked a Prince's death, and when, perhaps, the boy-king sent to his prophet-friend for counsel as he took up the reins of government, then the brave prophet sent back this message:—

"Fear not, for Jahweh is founding Zion;
And there is the safe sanctuary for His fearful folk." (c. xix. 32.)

Our English versions write here, "Jahweh hath founded Zion," but we gain the true meaning from the repetition of the oracle in unquestioned form five years *later* in c. xxviii. 16. Then the Assyrian besiegers were inclosing hard on the hills about Samaria, yet within the doomed capital whirled the mad carouse of the vintage feast. The wine wagons rolled in from fat vale and sunny slope about the fair hilltop city; and reckless riot drowned every anxious voice, dimmed the vision, and dazed the sense of people and priests, prophets and princes.

Isaiah was witnessing like rioting in Jerusalem. He was imploring his countrymen to learn wisdom from Samaria's madness, for her danger was a foreboding of what might be their own. But over their cups the very seers flung filthy sneers at their gloomy companion, while the priests of Zion staggered to their task of sacrificial prayer. They are quite safe, they cry, for are not here in their bacchanalian march and dance the grim wild figures of ghouls and ogres, princes and gods of Night and of all hidden things, the Underworld and Death itself? These masked devils would deceive Jahweh himself: "Under falsehood we have hid ourselves. When the scourger comes it shall not come to us." The prophet's only hope is to speak the people's own speech, to cry aloud the well-known proverb, "A decree and an accomplishing," that awful utterance of their old, common fear of fate. They believe Jahweh Creator of all and Lord of all hosts is the Lord of Fate. They will give heed to

that dread cry. But Isaiah's word of grace flows now. He has gained a hearing for an oracle for Jahweh; and that oracle is not death, but, "He is founding Zion" as a house of refuge where the trusting souls may rest calm whatever awful storms fate may bring."

"Jahweh is founding Zion," he cries. To Isaiah these years were the foundation days of this Sanctuary. In the year when Ahaz died, 727, he thinks of Jahweh as just laying there the sure foundation; and still in 722 the precious corner-stone is just being set upon its base. The meaning must be that now Isaiah is steadily entering upon this faith and grasping it as his great central gospel; he is setting it in brightest, winsome elegance before his fellows for them to clasp and hold it for the centuries to come. And may we not say that the day when a soul plants the foot firmly on a foundation faith is truly the day when God lays that faith as a foundation for that man! Here then is Isaiah's own formulation of the theme of these pages: Jahweh reveals through Isaiah the hope in Zion. He declares his gracious name and founds his token thereof by the word of Isaiah.

B. DANGER. (722, 721 B. C., cc. x.-xii.)

1. The later prophecies grow constantly more rich in this faith in Zion. There may seem to be scarcely ground enough for making a division between the prophecies last described dating from 722 B. C., just before Samaria's fall, and those of 721 B. C., uttered close after that catastrophe. All circle about that event, either foreseeing its coming or dreading its immediate consequences. [N. B. Unless Professor Guthe's theory quoted below be correct. In that case the central point is still 722, although the radius to c. x. and its scenes be ten years longer than we thought.] But the terrible ruin of the capital of the north seems to have deepened the prophet's faith in the safety of the southern city and sanctuary. And the utterances of that faith multiply so remarkably after the Fall that for our present purpose the event does divide the prophecies of almost the same date into two well-distinguished classes.

When Sargon had leveled Samaria, all Judah and the prophet too believed that the victorious Assyrian would at once march south to desolate Judah and destroy Jerusalem. The unsated wolf would rush down upon the sacred fold. But over fear the prophet's faith rose grandly. The fearfully expected danger and the proudly expected triumph are both pictured in the high rhapsody that closes c. x. "The host of death may speed on (x. 29-34) until on yonder near heights of the village sanctuary of Anathoth the many thousand spears seem like the forests upon Lebanon; but there shall Jahweh, the mighty forester, hew every proud stem to earth. All shall fall." And why? What are the keen points of Assyria's offense, and of Isaiah's indignation? This it is, that "Assyria hath shaken the spear against the beloved Zion. But the people that dwell in Zion are safe, who stay themselves firmly on Jahweh, Israel's Holy, Devoted One."

2. Then bursts forth from the raptured seer that grand vision of Incarnation that has been a weary world's wondering dream and waiting song (cc. xi., xii.). "When Jahweh's spirit shall reign incarnate in David's heir, then there shall be no hurt nor destruction in all the loved hill of Zion." The "Hosean" doctrine of man's need for symbols of God's presence is now thoroughly honored. Isaiah pours out promise of a perfect wealth of symbols, not the Zion altar only, not only a Davidic Prince

full of Jahweh's spirit, but the earth and beasts and sea shall all be symbols too. If need be the very nature of the ravenous beasts is to be changed, the land and the sea shall change their form, men shall forget to be unkind, to the end that nothing may prevent God's dwelling on earth to bless Judah.

It has been well noted that this vision of a coming golden age is not introduced immediately by the formula, "Thus hath said Jahweh," or by an equivalent form. But to reason from this absence that Isaiah is here conscious of promising developments for which he has no actual divine warrant, and which he does not quite absolutely expect, whereas he does absolutely expect as infallibly certain all that he predicts with the introductory authorizing oracle-formula, is to conceive of the seer as speaking with a cool calculation quite out of keeping with the exalted excitement of these passages. Moreover, these very passages before us on such a theory would prove that the Prophet made as great mistakes in expectation when he used the formula as when he did not. His cool calculation would be a worthless support to any theory of infallible predictions. The simple, evident fact is that so absorbed is Isaiah by his own grand faith in the certain safety of Zion, and so does the consequent enthusiasm grow upon him, that he loses more and more the sense of being at all different in himself from the very voice of God. In this latter part of the prophecy (c. xi.) his faith is at its highest; he is more than ever one with God; his words are more truly the divine oracle. Indeed, they are more certain of actual fulfillment than were the prediction respecting Assyria. The Prophet's enthusiasm is not too high, his expectations are not too optimistic, save when occasionally they become entirely materialistic. The enthusiasm and its perfectly sufficient foundation are uttered together in the grand final chords of the whole passage, "Cry out and shout, thou inhabitant of Zion, for great is Israel's Holy One in the midst of thee." Comment is not needed where the words so richly speak out the argument we have been presenting.

3. There is one feature we may not pass unnoticed. It lies partly hidden in c. xii., which has been thought by some scholars to be a product of exilic hands like those which fashioned Deutero-Isaiah (cc. xl.-lxvi.). The fitness to its present place is seen at once in the words of v. 6; and the exuberant tone is not more like any later age than it is Isaian. It is in v. 2 that perhaps there lies an allusion to Isaiah's original vision and call, and to the later recollection of it in the day when the new gospel and grace dawned upon the prophet. He writes, "Behold! God is my salvation! I trust and tremble not!" It was a disclosure of God that first won his soul to the prophetic calling; it was a deeper disclosure of God's character that turned his darkness into day, and gave him the power to save by divine grace, where he had only failed by preaching divine judgment. Again in another dark day it is the face of God, disclosed to the eyes that look on Zion, which awakens faith, restores calmness, and kindles joy. Isaiah had learnt the true persuasive when he cried, "Behold! God is my salvation. I trust, and tremble not!" The disclosure of God's heart wins men and saves them, to-day as then.

4. Professor Guthe has shown strong reason, in his recent work "*Zukunftsbild des Jesaja*," for assigning this "Oration against Assyria" to 710 B. C., ten years later than the date which had become currently accepted, and which is assigned above to the passage. Guthe's assignment is likely to prove correct; but it does not alter the bearing of these chapters on the

present argument. Yet it does alter the appearance of the long interval between the year 720, just after Samaria's fall, and the year 705, when probably Sennacherib's Assyrian invasions drew forth Isaiah's final series of prophecies. If there be no utterances, or only a few probable words, from all that period of fifteen years, then we must suppose Isaiah to have been quietly busy as counselor of King Hezekiah in the reforms of public religious observance recorded in 2 Chronicles, cc. xxix.-xxxi. If we can rely upon the chronicler's narrative, then Isaiah's eloquence bore early public fruit; and the reformation under Josiah in 622, which established Zion as the only legal sanctuary, was the second, and not the first, royal effort to establish Isaiah's faith as the doctrine of the state. If, on the other hand, we cannot rely upon the chronicler as giving us here a record of actual events, but must suppose him to be reading into Hezekiah's reign that state establishment of Zion which took place a hundred years later under Josiah, then it is at least remarkable that the chronicler himself has felt how appropriate such an establishment would have been in the days when the prophet Isaiah was closing his lifework. Evidently the chronicler and his fellows felt that Isaiah was the prophet of Zion. They seem to have known that Zion was not exalted exclusively and her feasts honored above all others in the days of the kings Jotham, Uzziah, Jehoshaphat, and many another before Isaiah's day; but under Hezekiah, Isaiah saw and said "Jahweh is founding Zion," and then men listened, and began to believe. This fitness of the chronicler's opinion to our theory of Isaiah's prophecy lends strength to both. Quite probably the chronicler's elaborate record of Hezekiah's reforms and solemnities is largely correct. If then the prophet was busy in practical guidance of the king's plans for worship, the people did not need special admonition to think of Zion, and the prophet was already sufficiently occupied. His silence is thus easily explained. The few utterances from this long period need not detain us.

C. GRACE IN ZION IN THE PERIOD OF INVASION.

(cc. xxix., xxx., xxxi., xxxiii., xxxvii. 705-700.)

Amid the terrors of Sennacherib's invasions, the prophet's voice rang out clear and cheerful. His brave, strong alarum sounding in all the passages from this period is ever a note of faith that Zion shall be delivered from all ill. The central thought urged upon the people's heart is that the Zion sanctuary cannot be hurt. The place beloved and guarded of Jahweh as his abode on earth is Judah's pledge and place of safety.

1. In c. 28, Isaiah sings of Ariel, God's altar-hearth, and David's city. Her halls where Judah's families meet for sacred feasting are in distress: but distress more bitter shall come on those who so distress Mt. Zion (v. 8). "The meek shall joy in Jahweh, the poor in Him who is Israel's Devoted One. Jacob's face shall not wax pale; but he shall sanctify the Holy One of Jacob," he shall count as indeed his own Devoted One, Him Who is called the Devoted God of Israel.

In c. 30, they who flee away to Egypt in their terror from Jerusalem's siege and danger are warned that they are flying into shame, while those who return and rest in quietness and confidence, in this besieged but divinely guarded sanctuary, shall be saved with strength. There is a striking, touching contrast between the promise of v. 18 and a warning of the Amosian days that stands in c. ii. v. 10, written in closely parallel

words. "Hide thee," wrote the fierce young prophet of judgment, "hide thee in the dust, for fear of Jahweh. Jahweh shall be exalted when thou art abased." But now the preacher of Jahweh's gracious heart writes: "He longs to bless, He patient waits, and watches that He may have compassion. But at last, impatient grown, He will arise — but not to slay — no, rather to display the sweet beauty of his yearning face, that this may woo and win sin-sick hearts to rest upon his breast. When Jahweh is exalted, then shalt thou be saved."

2. Amid all the prophecies during the Invasion years, perhaps the most beautifully gracious words are in c. xxxi. 4-5; few, indeed, of all Isaiah's sayings have so exquisite a grace. He has just been declaring that Egypt is no place of refuge. "The Holy One of Israel is the Creator of all things, and He alone can save, as He can also confound all plans of men." Then, with majestic strength of figure as of faith, he writes: "Like as a lion sallies forth against a band of shepherds and knows no fear, so shall Jahweh, Creator of All Hosts, come down to fight for Mount Zion against all the Assyrians." But now the prophet seems to fear that his figure and his tone are too fierce to soothe the timid folk he loves, and he writes on: "Like parent birds that flutter to and fro above their nest and young with sharp cries and strange courage when some enemy comes near, so doth the Omnipotent God hover over Jerusalem, defending and delivering. Let Asshur's princes behold the smoke arising from Zion's altar fires, for that is the ensign of Jahweh waving high over his home to mark his present power and Judah's safety. Then let Asshur fear and fail."

The passage is truly Isaian; for its beauty is that beauty of nature which God weaves for his own garment, and wherein the men of God must clothe their divinest faiths when they speak for God to men.

3. The story of the hottest day of the siege is in c. xxxvii. Then, for one short space, even Isaiah feared that Jerusalem must fall; but soon again, out of the very fear, the old faith rose, again triumphant. Jerusalem may be taken, but Zion may not fail. Even out of the broken city shall go forth a remnant, and out of Mount Zion they that shall escape; these shall take root again and fill the land with rich fruit, with life, with men. Zion shall again be peopled and beloved; Jahweh's burning desire to have his people will perform this. He cannot live or be the God of Hosts unless He have a people of his own; for his own sake, therefore, He will do this. Here is the old Amosian doctrine exalted and filled with a new depth of grace.

But the prophet will rise to higher faith. The fight waxes hotter, so does the seer's excited courage rise, until he cries, Thus hath said Jahweh: "I will defend this city and save it, for mine own sake, and for my servant David's sake." Isaiah had shouted in his first strong scorn of Sennacherib, "O Assyrian prince, the virgin Zion-daughter, Jahweh's fairest beloved one, hath despised thee. Stay thy battle noise and listen to her merry taunt as she shakes her head at thee." Then the peril grew, and the prophet's heart sank. But the crushed faith rebounding rose again, and the final song is a laugh of gladness in the prophet's soul, and of scorn against the hand that had dared to injure the abode of God in Zion.

Verily, that sanctuary has become to Isaiah the pledge and visible sign of God's immanent purpose. For his own character's sake, Zion must

be safe. That Will is the token of God's need for man's fellowship. Men need God in Zion, and God needs men and Zion also.

4. Jerusalem was saved then. The siege was raised and fears all forgotten. Then Isaiah seems to have sung the final poem that we read in c. xxxiii. Its burden is the same theme that we have followed all along: "Jahweh hath satisfied Zion with justice and firmness; and therein is He himself exalted. They who had done wrong trembled in Zion. But now look upon this city: behold how all our sacred joys now centre here. Here is quiet, safety, royal majesty, divine rule and righteousness. Are any feeble, are any conscience-stricken? No, no more forever! For the inhabitants shall not say, 'I am sick.' The people who dwell in Zion are forgiven their iniquity." These are the last words of Isaiah. They speak at once the holiest hope of a man, and the holiest purpose of a God — Forgiveness. God comes, touches men's earthly life; then men may start anew on the path of life, when they begin from the abode of God. Isaiah rose to this height of faith; God raised him to it. The seer saw men's weary hungering for a sound of God's voice, a vision of his face, a token of his care. He saw the heart of God that created this yearning and that purposed to satisfy it. He grasped the thought that here in Zion he and many another had been conscious of Jahweh's presence; and that presence was singularly manifested to him when he thought it least possible because of the sin that was present. God came even to sinful men in Zion. That faith Isaiah clasped to his soul, and thenceforth pointed it out to men from his full heart with all that sublime eloquence that has scarcely ever been equaled. Men heard and were moved. Many believed, all wondered: a century later all agreed Isaiah's doctrine should be the national law.

VI. THE SEQUEL.

1. Here may not be told the long tale of Judah's interest in Zion through all the centuries that followed. The Jewish people are simply an ever unfolding record and monument of the mighty faith of that one man Isaiah, and the Old Testament is a portion of that monument. The study of the Zion Faith is the study of the whole Canon, and above is only the introductory chapter telling the central theme of the whole. There is indeed a strange fitness in the toilsome care of the late narrators when they read into earliest story the interest in Zion as the guiding thread that must lead and color all their tale. It is true that we have seen no one of the great Hebrew thinkers before Isaiah making salvation in Zion his great theme. This was not the gospel of Moses or of Samuel or Elijah, of Amos or Hosea, and scarcely of Micah, Isaiah's contemporary and follower. But we know also how this Isaiah revelation was truly the child of influences working long before. Moreover, the Hebrew narrators only follow the strong Semitic tendency to belief in Divine Purpose, in other words, "Predestination" or even "Fate," when they find God's purposes manifest long before they are fulfilled. The Zion faith becomes the keystone of all their later life, they could not dream of its absence from all the early stages of their history. This explains many a passage in the Books of Samuel and Kings, and even in the Pentateuch and Joshua. These very passages are the reflex marks of the importance that Zion held in the minds of later men.

2. But when that faith first rose on the winged words of Isaiah it found strong opposition. Isaiah's eloquence and political skill were too

great to be unmarked of jealousy ; and the traditions which his faith was certain to attack were both venerable and beloved. We have read of Hezekiah's reforms : then followed sharp reaction in the next reign, and the King Manasseh was its leader. It was the natural, fierce struggle of conservatism against inevitable advance ; it was also the fight for freedom and honored worship in all the local sanctuaries, and for governmental freedom too for the widespread homes and hamlets, as against centralized religious observances, and the power that grows where these are. Manasseh must have been an able man, and perhaps was a better man than we have counted him ; for bad men or weaklings do not rule so long as he ruled, and they who fight hard for religious ways have not bad motives only.

3. But the wave rolled on. Under Josiah, the great-grandson of Isaiah's king, the whole people, with prince and elders, united in the revolution that established Zion as the one and only sanctuary of Jahweh. Only seventy-eight years after Isaiah's voice had ceased his faith became the popular doctrine and national law. All Judah was ready to profess public faith in Jahweh's jealous protection of Zion.

One is moved to ask, what secondary motives there might be for this action ? Were there dangers multiplying that made some men hope for protection very grateful and even necessary ? Certainly the struggles for world-empire betwixt the various powers of the Nile, Euphrates, and Tigris valleys, and the Iran plains, were threatening all small peoples with injury if not with absorption. But a more terrible scourge had just swept across all the Orient in the ravaging hordes of Scythians. These were now indeed retreating away back to their trans-Caucasian homes ; but might they not soon burst forth again ? Would not this new faith give new strength for resistance, or at least for enduring the scourge ?

Again, was the little kingdom really shrinking in geographical area so that the towns and country without Jerusalem were of less and less importance ? Perhaps those Scythian ravages and other fears had driven the people of the land to count Jerusalem as their real home and refuge, although they did sally forth to cultivate the plains, and even to lodge upon them in periods of peace. So did the mediæval feudal dependants count the old baronial castles their refuge, and even their home ; and thus may Jerusalem have become virtually the whole of the state as well as its centre. There were many influences at play to produce the Revolution ; yet the Faith of Isaiah gave it both its mainspring and its outward form.

4. But opposition rose again, and this time from a far stronger voice than Manasseh's. Jeremiah saw that Isaiah's sublime faith, when caught up by the multitude, was quickly turning to a mere fashion and a loveless custom. The new prophet stood alone at his watch and toil for personal godliness, and saw men caring only for security, whatsoever they might be or do. It was easy to point to Zion, to Isaiah's oracle concerning Jahweh's devotion, and to the new law, as their own acceptance of Jahweh's pledge. But real security, and the joy of it, are nothing more than the joy of trust in a Great Friend, who will ensure the greatest blessing, whatever that may be. Such trust is one with love and utter devotion ; and where love is not, there the truth is not, and then the joy of trust cannot be. The real security is therefore present only where love is ; but on the other hand, even external insecurity grows where love does

not knit life to life and interest to interest in a common bond of strength. Jeremiah saw that real security was wanting in many a soul in Judah, and that outward danger was also growing greater through men's selfishness. Therefore he cried, timid man as he was: "Trust ye not in lying words, saying, 'The temple of the Lord is this:' for Shiloh, Jahweh's older temple, was destroyed, and so shall be Jerusalem." To the formalist the words were sacrilege, as well as insult. Was not Isaiah charged with lies, was not Judah's God taunted with unfaithfulness? Jeremiah nearly lost his life: and his whole story is one of suffering. Even when his prediction of Egypt's overthrow was fulfilled in 609, and his reputation as a seer was established, he was still hated and abused by the selfish court. Indeed, in later centuries Jeremiah's stroke at the sanctuary of Zion was bitterly reckoned against him; for it is remarkable that in all the chronicles of the people we have no reference to this man, noble and faithful though he was, save one brief hint that he was a man of lamentations (2 Chron. xxxv. 25). Isaiah's faith was law, and grew more sacred with the ages: Woe to him who had ever gainsaid it. Jeremiah's own cry against Zion tells indeed of the heartlessness of the popular faith, but all the more certainly does it tell of the universal hold which Isaiah's doctrine had gained.

5. Jeremiah also loved Zion. He only would that Isaiah's own great personal devotion should live again. He saw how sorely it should be needed in the darkness that was gathering. For Zion was not to save Jerusalem; the beloved city was to be destroyed and her temple ruined. Zion did not save the men of Judah from sin; sadder still, her princes, the very sons of Josiah the Reformer, were bad, cruel, false. All were driven away from Zion and from Judah, away out to slavery beyond the far desert, in the fields on the streams of Babel.

6. Yet when the Exiles returned, the returning remnant built Zion again first of all. Had not the great seers of the Exile, Ezekiel, and he who, Unnamed, was greater still, pointed across the deserts to the ruined heaps where Zion had been, and declared "Zion should be built again"? Is not that Unnamed prophet often coupled with Isaiah himself as almost the same man, for the love of each for Zion was the same?

So the great souls in the Persian days, in the Ptolemean, and the Maccabean ages were devotees of Zion. Round that hill, crowned with a second Temple, they gathered, stern patriots, to draw sword and strike for Zion's safe integrity. Round Zion they gathered with bowed heads and strangely patient hands, crying, "Lord, what wilt thou have us to do?" The sad sigh of yonder lad, "Master, what good thing must I do that I may inherit eternal life?" was the aching fear of a soul that Zion had not been truly honored. It was more: it was the vision of a deeper need. That had needed some manifest token of God's love. Love from God like love for God must be manifested if it be true. The Hebrews needed their sanctuary, their prophets, their history to be signs of God's devotion to them; they read that devotion into all their history, for without a sign they would not rest or live. Was not that very hunger in themselves a sign of God's love? Was not the young man already in eternal life when he was truly eager to have it? It is true that we must have manifestations of God in visible, audible, tangible, perceptible forms. We must have historical facts, scenes, voices, story: yet since these are all perishable, they cannot be the spiritual reality for us, or the essential manifestation of God to us. What is the true sanctuary that is itself a

sign of the present God? Is it the sacred house where we bow, quiet and at rest? Is it any spot where, mingling the voice in sacred song and prayer, we seem to feel the breathing of God's answer? Is it the lone chamber, where, pondering o'er the sacred story of men, good and glad, or wayward and unhappy, we seem to see God's finger guiding all? Which of all these things is the very raiment that clothes God? What veils Him and yet marks his moving presence? It is not the material house, or word, or story, but it is our own relation to these. There is God present with us.

The soul that cares only for the outward sanctuary and sacred things soon grows hungry; for the bread of life is not eaten. Then that hunger becomes a very monitor, the stone that was not bread becomes a sermon pointing away from itself. The sacred places and words and history become prophetic. They cry, "Arise, haste thee onward, for this is not thy rest." So Isaiah's symbol and the Josian law preached answers to men's cry for God, but the answers were, "Know ye what ye ask?" Men were to try these ways to see whether they were the way of life. Then at last should they learn how near God they had always been, while they had been seeking Him. Jesus came, and men began to learn that God was in man. Now no building, form, or story, but a human life was infinitely precious. God abode there: that life was all one with God. Men can gaze on this sanctuary and know there is no further quest, for here is the revelation that in no abode of man, but in man himself, is God's chosen home. God manifests himself in Jesus, in man, in me. Does there seem still to remain a little gulf that must be bridged? For God dwells in Jesus and is manifest in Him, but not therefore necessarily in me. Nay, here is no gulf but a bond between Jesus and me. He loves me and wins my love, and we are one. In that love which is Him and me, God dwells. In that heart, that life of his that is all love for me, I am all bound. My heart is one with his, and in that bond, unity, love encompassing all, God is present with us. Isaiah's Immanuel is here fulfilled. Zion's prophecy is satisfied. The devotion of God that Isaiah saw in Zion is manifest now as then. "God is Immanuel."

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BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

GESCHICHTE DES VOLKES ISRAEL. Von Dr. BERNHARD STADE, Professor an der Universität Giessen. Mit Illustrationen und Karten. Erster Band. Gr. 8vo, pp. 710. Berlin: G. Grote'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1887.

This work forms part of the series, "Allgemeine Geschichte in Einzeldarstellungen," of which Professor Oncken in Giessen is the general editor. Its scope and limits are thus defined by the plan of the whole. The first volume, which brings us down to the destruction of the national state in the year 586 B. C., is to be followed by a second, containing the history of Judaism from the Babylonian Exile to the Fall of Masada, A. D. 73, the last act in the first great uprising against Rome.

In accordance with the happily conceived idea of the series, the author

has written not so much for the larger public of "general readers," as to meet the needs of students in other departments, who want to follow up, in a comprehensive but not superficial way, the recent advances of historical science in different fields. At the same time he has had particularly in mind the attitude and difficulties of theological readers. The contradiction which the author's views on essential points provoke, not only from the men of tradition, but from less thorough-going critics, accounts for the vigorous and at times rather sharp polemic, which marks certain parts of the book. The contest is still hot.

The principal sources from which our knowledge of the history of Israel is derived are, of course, the books of the Old Testament. The Assyrian inscriptions from the middle of the ninth century on are of great value, above all because they give us exact chronological data. From the Egyptian monuments, on the other hand, disappointingly little has been learned. The fragments of the Stele of Mesa of Moab are of more worth to the Old Testament student than all of them. The results of the latest studies in these directions have been made use of in this volume.

The use of the Old Testament sources for historical purposes depends upon a just appreciation of the character of the Israelitish literature, and an approximately correct estimation of its age, in other words upon the results of criticism. Since the sources are familiar, in a certain way, to all, the author is compelled to enter, at much greater length than would otherwise be proper in a work of this scope, into critical questions. In the Introduction, the composite character of many of the narratives is illustrated by an analysis of the account of the Flood, in which by the use of Gothic, Roman, and italic type the state of the case is brought to ocular demonstration. In the same paragraph the divergence of the two recensions in which the text has been transmitted to us is exhibited, in an unusually glaring instance, by printing in parallel columns translations respectively of the Hebrew and the Greek text of 1 Samuel xviii. 6-29.

Having thus given his readers some insight into the nature and difficulties of the problem, Stade presents in a preliminary form the results of a critical study of the sources of the pre-exilic history — Law, Historical Books, Prophets. The fuller elucidation of many of the points here touched upon is left to its proper place in the history itself. The author's position is in all essentials the same which has been made familiar among us by the writings of Professor W. R. Smith, by Wellhausen's *Prolegomena*, and his article "Israel" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and by others, in what has, with far too narrow a name, been called the Pentateuch Controversy. It is not necessary to rehearse these conclusions here.

Stade has worked the ground over independently and thoroughly, and even on points which have received the most attention finds frequent occasion to correct or define more accurately the results of his predecessors. In the historical books, especially the Kings, where, except Wellhausen's paragraphs in Bleek's "Einleitung" (unaccountably displaced in the fifth edition by the original text of Bleek, now quite out of date), comparatively little had been done; and in some of the Prophets he has had a less worked field, and brings therefore more that is new. The details of many of these investigations have been published from time to time in the author's "*Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*." Of subjects which have not yet received this fuller illustration the ana-

lysis of the Book of Jeremiah, page 646 f., is of the greatest interest. It is to be noticed as characteristic of the author's criticism, especially in the Prophets, that he gives more consideration and more weight than has hitherto been done to the Biblico-theological moment, the relations and development of religious ideas. And this is to be signalized as an advance.

The history of Israel has not before been written on so large a scale, from the standpoint of the new school. Wellhausen's genial sketch is but a sketch, the plan of which excluded the attempt to justify its assumptions. Stade's History thus puts the new criticism more thoroughly than has yet been done to the crucial test of a reconstruction, which shall take account of all the facts and forces in the history. Not only Old Testament students, but all scholars of adequate historical training, and the habit of seeing with their own eyes, have here the means of judging whether it can stand this test.

But the chief interest of the work does not lie on the critical side, and we should be dull readers if we saw no more in it than we have already described.

The history of Israel begins, for our author, with the establishment of the kingdom. Only then did Israel begin to impress itself upon the world by thoughts or deeds. Moreover, our immediate sources for the time before Samuel and Saul are scanty and have reached us only through successive redactions which have by no means left them intact. Is, then, all before this a blank? By no means. On the contrary, if we use even the later sources right we may learn from them much more about the past of Israel than is commonly supposed. The stories of the patriarchs, for example, interpreted, with Ewald, of tribes, rather than of individuals, may be made to contribute not a little to our knowledge of the condition of society and of tribal organization and movements in the older times. Especially is this the case when they are studied in the light of what anthropological science teaches us about other peoples on similar levels of culture. This Stade has done; and we come here upon one of the characteristic features of his work—that he has interpreted the remoter past of the Israelitish tribes by the methods and in constant comparison with the results of anthropology. This method proves very fruitful when applied to religion, for here the material is more abundant. There survive to the latest times, beliefs and customs, which had their origin in the primitive superstitions of the race. The law itself embodies, for example, in the rubrics of clean and unclean, such survivals. The historical books contain many more. The picture of the beliefs and customs of Israel in the pre-prophetic period which the author portrays on a large canvas, pages 358–518, is in many ways one of the most original and valuable contributions to the history of Israel which the author has given us, however we may dissent from particulars, either in the method or the results. I have a feeling, for example, that Totemism, under the patronage of McLennan and W. R. Smith, has played an exaggerated rôle in recent studies of ancient tribal institutions and custom. But points of difference or of doubt cannot be mentioned here. One outcome of this line of investigation is not to be passed over without notice. It is, that even if we set aside all the accounts of the Exodus and of Moses's work, if we leave out of consideration the traditional ascription of the characteristic features of the religion of Israel to him as its founder, the internal evidence of the religious evolution itself witnesses most incontro-

vertibly to the fact, and the character of the great Beginning under him. That Israel never passed through the stage of mythological polytheism, but, so to speak, overleaped it, testifies to his work most conclusively.

Another feature of Stade's history which should not escape our attention, though it can here only be suggested, is the theological point of view. He writes not merely as critic, as historian, as student of religions, but as a Christian theologian. This is especially noticeable in the chapters which deal with the work of the prophets, which I commend especially to theological readers. The Old Testament religion is not simply one of the great religions of the world; it is the one out of which Christianity was born — the only one of which it could have come. This is never lost sight of. Far from aiming, as a particularly ill-informed newspaper writer some months ago said, to eliminate God and all his doings from the Bible, it would be a gross misunderstanding, or a gross injustice to deny that the theological school which Professor Stade represents is as ready to recognize God's hand in the history, his word in the Law and the Prophets, as their opponents, whether on the right or left.

The history of Israel is presented, then, in this volume in accordance with the new critical theories, in the light of recent discovery and research in the ancient history of the East, and of modern studies of man and society, and from a positive theological standpoint. For all these reasons it has an unusual claim upon the attention of scholars and theologians.

In many ways it provokes contradiction, the ground-lines of the history are so completely at variance with the way in which most of us have been in the habit of interpreting it. The law, for example, instead of being the foundation of the religion of Israel, and its national constitution, is a secondary product of the religion, deposited through several centuries in three principal strata whose succession is easy to determine, and is fundamental only for Judaism. Moses is the founder of a religion and the maker of a people, rather than the organ of a revealed legislation. The prophets transform the national religion, by fully moralizing the conception of God, and of his relations to man, by drawing the conclusions which lay enfolded in the formula: a righteous God, — namely, the unity of God, and the universal destiny of the true religion. To put it in a word, the religion of Israel was not complete at its beginning, its history not a thousand years' unsuccessful struggle to remain at the level of its source; ending by beginning again at the same point, but a gradual development, — a progress not without checks, and backsets, and error, but still a progress, the results of which were gathered up, perpetuated, but inevitably hardened, stereotyped, in the canonical law.

The whole extent of their difference cannot fairly be laid to the charge of the critics. If they have set aside, for reasons given, the documents from which the traditional conception is mainly derived, it must be admitted that the traditional representation of the history has too often silently ignored, or inadequately explained the facts upon which the critics build.

The existing difference of views can only be ended by a renewed, patient, and open-minded study of the sources. Meanwhile we do well to remember two things. One is, that the modern critics, quite as truly as their opponents, have no other aim than to find out exactly what the facts are, — what the Old Testament itself teaches, — and to abide by them. The other is, that the questions here at issue are not matters of faith. The corner-stone of our faith is not the Pentateuch, but Jesus Christ.

The more firmly we ourselves stand on that one foundation, the more clearly we shall see that the strongest faith and the freest criticism are not incompatible, but complementary.

The make-up of the volume is excellent. Among the *Beilagen* the fac-similes of the St. Petersburg, Erfurt, and Reuchlin manuscripts of the Old Testament, and of the Dibon and Siloam inscriptions, will be especially valued. The illustrations in the text are well chosen and executed. Unfortunately there are a number of misprints, especially in the Scripture references. Some of those which the reader will not so easily correct for himself may be noted here:—

Page 86, lines 2 and 3, read 1868, 1869: p. 148, l. 6, from below, for Daibon, Atarot, und Aroer, read Jaser, Bet Nimra, und Bet Haran: p. 156, l. 15, from below, read versucht: p. 185, l. 19, read 33; l. 23, read 7, 23 ff; note 2, read 7, 9: p. 201, l. 18, read 1 Kö. 2, 27: p. 211, note 3, read 13, 3: p. 225, note 1 should be note 1 on p. 226: p. 226, note 1 should be note 2: p. 233, l. 5, from below, read 21, 2-7, and so p. 234, l. 19, and 235, l. 10, from below: p. 238, l. 11, read 18, 3: p. 303, note 1, read 1 Kö. 9, 18: p. 315, l. 19, read 7, 1 und 7, 12: p. 425, last line, read Jer. 34, 5: p. 472, l. 10, from below, read 33, 9: p. 577, note 3, read H. Rawlinson: p. 594, note 1, init. read 8, 9^a: p. 608, note 4, read 30, 22: p. 642, l. 13, from below, read 2 Kö. 22, 1, 2: p. 652, l. 14, read 15-20: p. 654, l. 14, from below, read 21: p. 665, l. 19, read 2 Kön. 23, 22: p. 666, last line, read verdrängen.

George F. Moore.

ANDOVER, March, 1888.

JOB AND SOLOMON; OR, THE WISDOM OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By the Rev. T. K. CHEYNE, M. A., D. D., Oriel Professor of Interpretation at Oxford, Canon of Rochester. 8vo. Pp. xiii, 309. New York: Thomas Whittaker. 1887. \$2.25.

Notice of this book has been unavoidably delayed much longer than the reviewer could have wished. The book is one of permanent value, and one to which the attention of the readers of the REVIEW should be especially called. The author, well known among us by his excellent Commentary on Isaiah, his translation of the Psalms and other works, has here given us a study of a peculiar branch of the Old Testament literature, the product of the Israelitish wisdom, including the Books of Job, Proverbs, Sirach, and Ecclesiastes. The Wisdom of Solomon is left out, as being "in form and colouring almost as much Greek as Hebrew," and having no proper place in a survey of the Wisdom of Palestine. Notwithstanding, I regret that the author did not embrace it in his plan as a specimen, if you please, of Hellenistic wisdom. The relations of Palestinian and Alexandrian thought in that age were closer than we are apt to think, and the polemic edge of the Wisdom of Solomon is turned against a drift not very different from that which produced Ecclesiastes. It is, perhaps, ungrateful to ask for more where we have already so much, but I hope that in a subsequent edition Wisdom may be included, if for no other reason, because it is not likely to receive a like treatment anywhere else.

The questions which are discussed in this volume belong in general to the department of Introduction, but are dealt with in a way very different from that of the—unhappily too often very dry—handbooks of that

discipline. On the Book of Job, for example, Professor Cheyne follows the argument of the poem to the end of the third cycle of speeches (ch. 31), then in the succeeding chapters takes up: The Speeches of Elihu; The Speeches of Jehovah; The Epilogue and its Meaning; The Traditional Basis and Purpose of Job; Date and Place of Composition; Argument from the Use of Mythology; from the Doctrine of Angels; from Parallel Passages; On the Disputed Passages in the Dialogue, especially the Speeches of Elihu; Is Job a Hebrew-Arabic Poem? The Book, from a Religious Point of View; from a General and Western Point of View. In a similar way the other books are handled.

The subjects suggested by these chapter titles are discussed with a thorough and conscientious scholarship which cannot be too highly praised. Not only the critical and exegetical literature, English and foreign, but an unusually wide range of illustrative reading is at the author's command, yet by relegating matters of a more technical sort to the Appendices, the reader's intelligence is not impeded by the author's learning. Along with this goes the sobriety of judgment, the fairmindedness which belongs to the best English scholarship. There is on many critical questions something of what the author has himself elsewhere described as "sedulous understatement," — which will make its own impression on fairminded readers. The volume, in brief, is one which is to be earnestly commended to the study of all, ministers and laymen, who would know one of the most individual and interesting of the products of the Israelitish mind.

Prefixed to the volume as an Introduction is a paper, which the author read in 1883 at the Church Congress: How is Old Testament Criticism related to Christianity? — for which a very wide reading, in this country as well as in England, is to be desired, in the interest of an understanding of the aims and results of criticism.

In the Appendix scholars will find much that is of special interest to them. "Aids to the Student," at the end of the several sections, include especially that part of the Literature most likely to be overlooked. A good Index completes an admirable book. All readers will hope that the author may soon be able to fulfill his plan of a similar volume on the Psalms, Lamentations, and Song of Songs.

George F. Moore.

ANDOVER, April, 1888.

STEPHEN BAR SUDAILL. *The Syrian Mystic and the Book of Hierotheos*. By A. L. FROTHINGHAM, JR. 8vo, pp. vi, 111. Leyden: E. J. Brill. 1886.

The union of Oriental philology and philosophic criticism in the same person is a rare thing. Dr. Frothingham seems to possess this double gift. He has unearthed among the treasures of the British Museum a Syriac version of a supposed Greek original of the Book of Hierotheos. Hierotheos was the confessed teacher of Pseudo-Dionysios, a master-mystic of the sixth century. So great a favorite was he with the scholastics that it would be possible, we are assured, to reconstitute the writings of Dionysios from those of Thomas Aquinas. Did Hierotheos exist? Was he identical with one Stephen Bar Sudaili, a leader in the Syrian church, who was born at Edessa, resided for a time in Egypt, and subsequently in or near Jerusalem shortly after 500 A. D.? These are the problems Professor Frothingham broaches with courage and handles with skill.

It is well known that Gregory Bar-Hebraeus, the Monophysite Patriarch of the thirteenth century, asserted the great work of Bar Sudaili to have been that entitled the Book of Hierotheos. Was this his individual opinion only? Not so, says Mr. Frothingham. Among others Gregory appeals to Kyriakos, Patriarch of Antioch in the eighth century. The witness of his Nomocanon ran: "The Patriarch Kyriakos (says) the Book entitled that of Hierotheos is not by him but probably by the heretic Stephen Bar Sudaili." The rendering here is substantially correct, although a trifle more positive than the Syriac warrants. *Damya*, the passive participle of *d'ma*, "to be like," is in English "apparently" rather than "probably."

Another testimony is less relevant. This is the eighth-century witness of John, Bishop of Dara. Translating from his work on the resurrection, Dr. Frothingham writes: "The Book of Hierotheos is in reality not by him but was skillfully written by another in his name, THAT is by Stephen bar Sudaili." "THAT is" would be exact were the Syriac *w'hu* instead of *w'hau*, and were the *dalath* (?) sign of the genitive wanting. As the text stands no opinion is given on the point involved. Stephen Bar Sudaili is mentioned not as the real author of the pseudo-Hierotheos, but as another author of similar doctrines to those of the pseudo-Hierotheos.

We should be grateful to our accomplished author that his researches led him at last to the very copy of Hierotheos which belonged to Bar-Hebraeus. This he has copied, and will publish. Orientalists will await the work eagerly. Meantime we have before us a preliminary epitome of the same. The concluding paragraph is worthy of reproduction: "Nothing will perish or be destroyed, all will return, be sanctified, united and confused. Thus God will be all in all. Even Hell will pass away and the damned return. All orders and distinctions will cease. God will pass away and Christ will cease to be and the Spirit will no longer be called spirit, essence alone will remain here and elsewhere."

The audacity of speculation which thus injects pantheism into orthodoxy is strongly sketched by Dr. Frothingham. To the less philosophical reader he gives the flowery diction and persuasive language of Jacob of Sarug, who says: "The planter of Paradise has been wounded by the lance in the place of the thieving gardener, and has opened the garden that those who were expelled might return to their place." The following is the quaint reasoning of the same correspondent of Bar Sudaili on the divine justice of eternal punishment: "Justly does the sinner fall into fire everlasting because his thoughts were bent on sinning forever, neither did he turn unto repentance. The righteous also are worthy of eternal life, because they devoted their souls and minds to walk forever in the way of righteousness."

Arabic scholars will perhaps be displeased that Mr. Frothingham quotes from Asseman instead of Assemâni. All students will assuredly be charmed by the elegance, the learning, the originality, the accuracy, the simplicity of his mystical volume.

John Phelps Taylor.

PALESTINE IN THE TIME OF CHRIST. By EDMOND STAFFER, D. D., Professor in the Protestant Theological Faculty of Paris. Translated by ANNIE HARWOOD HOLMDEN. Third edition, with maps and plans. Pp. xii, 527. New York : A. C. Armstrong & Son. \$2.50. [The title-page has no date, but the Preface to the third edition is dated "Paris, May, 1885."]

The work is divided into two parts, — I. Social Life, and II. Religious Life. To give a little fuller idea of the contents, the first part treats of such topics as Geography, Population, Rulers, Administration of Justice, Dwellings, Clothing, Home Life, Country Life, Literature, Arts and Science; the second part treats of the Great Religious Parties, Synagogues, Schools, Preaching and Philosophy, Prayer, the Sabbath, Fasts, Feasts, and the Temple and its Worship. There are also two chapters on "The Principal Dates in Christ's Life," and on "Jesus and the Preaching of the Gospel."

The ground sought to be covered by the book is what is known as *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*, and was designed, the author states, "to fill a gap in French literature." The third edition is before us, in which "Criticisms of the Press have been considered," and "Inaccuracies Corrected" (Preface, p. v).

In spite of this avowal, what the book most needs is careful revision and editing. Why should such names as Antony, Xystus, and Shechem appear in an English book as "Anthony," "Xistus," and "Sichem"? (pp. 52, 59, 44). Why should "Naplous" be used for Nablous, or why should we be told that the place "is now called Neapolis"? (pp. 44, 229). As there is no "Lifra on Leviticus," we must read *Sifra*, and the reproduction of Hebrew words throughout the book demands careful correction.

The author is obliged to use Josephus as an authority, still he says that "he always exaggerates" (pp. 35, 37, 82); likewise Luke (ii. 2) was mistaken about the census of Quirinius [Cyrenius], and an "inaccuracy in Mark" is pointed out (vii. 4, pp. 75, 205). He who can detect mistakes in the gospels ought to be less fallible in his observations on the Holy Land. For instance, he says: "The Well of Jacob is now almost entirely filled up;" "it is only a shallow pool in the middle of a field" (44), when it is at least seventy-five feet deep. "Nazareth is only twenty-five miles from Jerusalem" (37), when it is nearly sixty-five miles. "It is one day's walk from Jerusalem to Shechem" (229), when it is two long days' journey. "Tiberias is situated near the place where the Jordan leaves the lake" (38), when it is fully five miles from it. "There were two bridges over the Jordan" (38), and "the Jordan was traversed by only one bridge" (230). "Jericho is on the banks of the Jordan" (65), when it is five miles away. "The Jordan flows by, shut in by bare rocks;" "the Jordan is crossed by a ferry-boat at the few places where it is not shut in by rocky cliffs" (229, 230). Where is there a "rocky cliff," or where are there "bare rocks" in the purely alluvial banks of that stream? "If, on leaving Jericho, we descend the Jordan, we arrive at the oasis of Engedi, not far from the point where the river flows into the Dead Sea" (66). There is no semblance of truth in this entire sentence. At Jericho one is five miles from the Jordan, and the mouth of the river is fully eight miles from Jericho. One goes away from the Jordan to go to Engedi, to say nothing of the fact that it cannot be reached by going down the coast, but only by a long detour through the mountains. Moreover, Engedi is halfway down the west side of the

Dead Sea, and twenty-five miles from where the Jordan enters it. "Jerusalem has scarcely 15,000 inhabitants" (48), when it has over 40,000. "Thirty years ago there were 150 Samaritans in Nablous, to-day there are none" (124), when more than 100, if not the full 150, still exist there. "In the East poverty is almost unknown" (145). In building, "stone was seldom employed" (173). What can the man be thinking about? "Galilee was only nine or ten miles across it from east to west" (35), when Nazareth, which was not far from the middle of the province, on the line indicated, was fifteen miles from the Jordan and the lake of Tiberias. "Capernaum is four miles from Tiberias" (37). This is wrong for either Khan Minieh or Tell Hum, but the author's Capernaum is Tell Hum, which is eight miles from Tiberias. "Tiberias was the capital of Galilee under Antipas" (37), when Sepphoris was the capital of that province under that ruler, and hence, during all the earthly life of Christ. "Capernaum is equi-distant from Cesarea Philippi to the northeast, from Tyre and Sidon to the northwest, and from Gadara to the southeast" (39). What are the facts? Gadara is fifteen miles from Tell Hum, Cesarea Philippi twenty-eight, Tyre thirty-six, and Sidon fifty miles from it. Here is another example from Jerusalem: "If we take our stand on the Temple-hill we see the whole of Jerusalem lying at our feet, the upper city to our left, and the lower city to our right" (52). What a strange statement! The fact is, that from that standpoint the lower city is fifty feet, and the upper city is one hundred feet above us.

The author, as we have said, accepts Tell Hum, without question, as the site of Capernaum, but the strongest ground on which its advocates rest its claims is the synagogue, which Stapfer, in deference to the views held by all archaeologists, admits to be later than the first century. He thinks that the traditional site of Calvary is the correct one, and claims that this is the general opinion of scholars to-day (50, 115). We will not dispute with the author, but are prepared to demonstrate the opposite. But, in these days, neither the author of this book nor any one else has a right to give any credence to the absurd theory that the Bethlehem of the gospels was the little village of that name situated not far from Nazareth (37, note). The author quotes Pliny, who said that vines in the East were allowed to run along the ground, and says, that "this is not true of Syria and Palestine, where they grow straight up and very high" (221). In this matter Pliny was right and Stapfer is wrong.

We have not noticed nearly all the places that we had marked for correction, but enough to justify our remark that the book needs thorough revision. Accurate information respecting Palestine is now so accessible that there can be no excuse for such imperfections as we have pointed out. In spite of faults, the volume contains a vast amount of valuable material on topics that will never lose their interest. The tone and spirit of the book are excellent, there is no bitterness towards opponents, and the author's design to be helpful to his readers is apparent from the beginning to the end. The origin, history, and distinctive features of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes are well worked out, and some points of the Jewish religion and character are presented with great skill and effect.

The last chapter on "Jesus and the Preaching of the Gospel" is fresh, clear, and interesting, but at the close it disappoints us, for the author fails to say what he might have said of Christ. Pleasant words are written that "He was an inspired man," and that "his appearance and

life were a miracle" (449, Preface, p. vi.) ; but was He more than this ? We are not told, nor should we expect an answer to such a question in such a book had not the author, in a special chapter, introduced the subject himself.

Selah Merrill.

ANDOVER.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF WILLIAM G. SCHAUFFLER, for Forty Years a Missionary in the Orient. Edited by his Sons. With an Introduction by Professor E. A. PARK, D.D., LL.D. With Portraits. 12mo, pp. xxxv, 258. New York : Anson D. F. Randolph & Co. 1887. \$1.25.

It is positively refreshing in these days, when so many biographies are published which have only local interest, to read a book which cannot fail to attract the attention of all who are interested in the Redeemer's kingdom ; and it is doubly refreshing, when the record of so many good men's lives suffers from the overzealousness of worshiping biographers, to read the story of an intensely real life told in simple, forceful language.

Dr. Schauffler was born in Würtemberg, 1798. His boyhood was passed in South Russia, whither his parents had removed, and where he was converted at the age of twenty-three, through the preaching of a Catholic priest who had been exiled from Bavaria for his evangelical views. He desired to become a missionary ; but as this seemed impossible, he thought of continuing at his trade — that of wood joiner — and remaining single, so that he might support a missionary and do his work through him. "The Lord had ordered it quite differently ; and little more than a year later, I was sitting in a room in the Theological Seminary in Andover, Mass., in America." (P. 20.)

The series of events which led to this great change, undertaken entirely on his own responsibility, read like a romance. With one dollar in his pocket, and "knowing no man, woman, nor child in America, and having no claims upon any one," he came to this country, landing at Boston, November, 1826. The chapters relating to his Andover life, supplemented by the reminiscences given by Professor Park in the introduction, are very entertaining. The following extract shows that his time was not misused : "I studied Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, Samaritan, Rabbinic, Persian, Turkish, and Spanish ; and, in order to be somewhat prepared for going to Africa, perhaps to Egypt, I extracted and wrote out pretty fully the Ethiopic and Coptic grammars." (P. 47.) And this without teachers and aside from the regular work of the Seminary !

Leaving America at the close of the year 1831, under appointment from the A. B. C. F. M., he began his labors as missionary, with headquarters in Constantinople. Then follows the account of his work among the Jews, for whom he translated the entire Bible into Hebrew-Spanish, and later, that among the Turks, for whom he performed a similar service ; of his visits to his South Russian home ; of his residence in Vienna ; and of his important services in the cause of religious liberty in the Turkish Empire.

Of Dr. Schauffler's life and work, only those who knew the man and his circumstances can speak authoritatively ; but as we read his own modest story, we feel that we are in the company of a man who, though largely self-made, possessed marvelous powers, which were consecrated to his Master's service. It was a life of hardship, gladly borne for Christ's

sake, abounding in thrilling adventure and pleasant glimpses of noted places and people. The sterling qualities of manhood and the simple faith in God's constant care, which characterized him, make a rare and attractive combination. He was preëminently a man for emergencies.

The introduction is all that the name of its author leads one to anticipate, and without it, and the few extracts at the close by other hands, the book would be incomplete for general readers. The story of such a noble life, so well told, cannot fail to inspire and benefit every reader.

D. Butler Pratt.

ANDOVER.

HEARTSEASE AND RUE. By JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL. 16mo, pp. viii, 218. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1888. \$1.25.

All that is necessary to say of a new book of James Russell Lowell is, that he has published one. It might be well to sample out some felicities. But the author does not deal fairly with us; there are too many of them. It is hard to pick up again what we had selected but had then thrown down, not in favor of better ones, but of those which were five minutes newer. We have gone through too much of the book in this way, and feel rather discouraged. However, the obligations of our position require that we should offer a few impertinencies of comment.

The poem of most structure is, of course, the first, on Agassiz. Never having met the man, we can only say that the poem is the reproduction of his portrait. A colored photograph of Agassiz was a living work of art:—

"I see the firm benignity of face,
Wide-smiling champaign, without tameness sweet,
The mass Teutonic toned to Gallic grace,
The eyes whose sunshine runs before the lips."

As the grandson of a eudæmonistic atheist, good and great and noble though he in himself was, still had to own the backward and downward-drawing tie, so the child of a line of Christian pastors gladly owned the hereditary help to rise.

"It may be he had trod
Outside the plain old path of *God thus spake*,
But God to him was very God,
And not a visionary wraith
Skulking in murky corners of the mind,
And he was sure to be
Somehow, somewhere, imperishable as He,
Not with His essence mystically combined,
As some high spirits long, but whole and free,
A perfected and conscious Agassiz."

How he loved Nature, *cujus pars magna fuit*. He did not merely register her; he worshipfully loved her. And assuredly he has not left her behind, in coming near to Him of whom she is the daughter and thought. His star is just now in a manner veiled by the soulless though necessary How, through which, however, is already beginning to shine forth again the victorious permanence of the Why.

The address to Curtis sufficiently characterizes both in the couplet:—

"For never land long lease of empire won
Whose sons sate silent when base deeds were done."

From the time of Jeremiah till now the snarling children of common-

place, who honor the past mainly because it saves them from the stress of the present, have been ingenious to fashion ugly words of derision, for those who become their enemies by telling them the truth. But when such a man writes these lines to such a man, we lesser men find high-minded endeavor for the life of the Commonwealth come easier to us.

Fitz Adam's Story is that Realism which reminds us, by contrast, of some New England pictures, in prose and verse, by another hand, and of the hard, harsh sneer which they convey. Because Mr. Lowell is not a Yankee, but a New Englander, nay, the New Englander, he can carve out each last and least uncouthness of our gnarled offshoot of the crabbed Teutonic stem, and leave us amused to the last degree, and ashamed of nothing in the least degree. It is, we believe, proposed by one or two eminent clergymen to conciliate the Catholics by banishing God altogether from the public schools. But that still leaves room for the Devil. And it would be a good lesson in morals to introduce this picture of Old Nick's honest indignation at the departed Deacon who has abused his confidence by trying to lower the standard of Tartarean integrity. We hope to see it in the next edition of the Massachusetts Confucian Reader. Was anything ever told, in speech bound or unbound, quite so absolutely, and in every direction, racy of the soil?

We have to stop somewhere, and we may as well stop here.

Charles C. Starbuck.

ANDOVER.

THE STUDY OF HISTORY IN AMERICAN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES. By HERBERT B. ADAMS, Ph. D., Associate Professor of History in the Johns Hopkins University. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1887. Pp. 299.

This thick pamphlet is the second circular of information concerning teaching in colleges and universities issued by the Bureau of Education. Professor Adams traces the development of instruction in history and political science, and gives an account of present methods. He selects Harvard, Yale, Columbia, the University of Michigan, Cornell, and Johns Hopkins. He shows that in the older institutions it was not until the latter half of this century that the political history of European States and of our own country received appreciable attention. In the new institutions it has, of course, had a large place from the outset. Of special interest is the account of method. The student is put upon original research and production. Lectures are given in historical libraries, where works referred to can be seen and handled on the spot. From the classes of historical and political students seminars are voluntarily formed, the student undertaking the investigation of important topics, upon which extended papers are read and discussion invited. This method is likely to prevail more and more, in all elective and professional studies, as a modification, or rather enlargement, of the method of instruction exclusively by lectures. The book contains interesting sketches of Professors Francis Lieber, Jared Sparks, Andrew D. White, John W. Burgess, and other successful teachers of history. Chapters are added on History in Colleges for Women, on American History in Schools, Colleges, and Universities, and on History and Political Science in the Washington High School. Several photographs of library interiors add to the attractiveness of the work.

George Harris.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, Boston and Chicago. Selections from the Psalms and other Scriptures in the Revised Version, For Responsive Reading in Church Services and on Special Occasions. Edited by Rev. Joseph T. Duryea, D. D. Pp. ix, 57. Introduction price, 50 cents; retail price, 70 cents.

Cupples & Hurd, Boston. What shall make us Whole? Or, Thoughts in the Direction of Man's Spiritual and Physical Integrity. By Helen Bigelow Merriam. Pp. 115. 1888. 75 cents; — Life's Problems Here and Hereafter. An Autobiography. Pp. viii, 317. 1887. \$1.25.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. Before the Curfew and other Poems, chiefly occasional. By Oliver Wendell Holmes. Pp. vi, 109. 1888. \$1.00; — Heartsease and Rue. By James Russell Lowell. Pp. viii, 218. 1888. \$1.25; — American Statesmen. Gouverneur Morris. By Theodore Roosevelt. Pp. 370. 1888. \$1.25; — The Puritan Age and Rule in the Colony of the Massachusetts, 1629-1685. By George E. Ellis. Pp. xix, 576. 1888. \$3.50.

Roberts Brothers, Boston. Martin Luther and other Essays. By F. H. Hedge, author of "Reason in Religion," "Primeval World of Hebrew Tradition," "Ways of the Spirit," "Atheism in Philosophy," "Hours with German Classics," etc. Pp. 326. 1886. \$2.00.

A. C. Armstrong & Co., New York. Introduction to the Study of Philosophy. By J. H. W. Stuckenberg, D. D. Pp. ix, 422. 1888. \$2.00. For sale by Estes & Lauriat, Boston; — The Ancient World and Christianity. By E. De Pressensé, D. D., author of "The Early Years of Christianity," etc., etc. Translated by Annie Harwood Holmden. Pp. xxxi, 479. \$1.75. For sale by De Wolfe, Fiske & Co., Boston; — The Book of Genesis. By Marcus Dods, D. D., author of "Israel's Iron Age," "The Parables of our Lord," etc., etc. Pp. viii, 445. \$1.50. For sale by same; — Palestine in the Time of Christ. By Edmond Stapfer, D. D., Professor in the Protestant Theological Faculty of Paris. Translated by Annie Harwood Holmden. Third Edition, with Maps and Plans. Pp. xii, 527. \$2.50. For sale by Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. Christian Economics. By Wilfrid Richmond, M. A., Warden of Trinity College, Glenalmond. Pp. xii, 278. 1888; — The Gospel of St. John: An Exposition exegetical and homiletical, for the use of Clergymen, Students, and Teachers. By Rev. Thomas Whitelaw, M. A., D. D., author of "Exposition and Homiletics in Pulpit Commentary on Genesis," etc. Pp. lxii, 464. 1888.

Longman, Green & Co., New York. The Religious Sentiments of the Human Mind. By Daniel Greenleaf Thompson, author of "A System of Psychology," "The Problem of Evil," etc. Pp. viii, 176. 1888. \$2.50.

Phillips & Hunt, New York; Cranston & Stowe, Cincinnati. Christianity in the United States. From the First Settlement down to the Present Time. By Daniel Dorchester, D. D. 8vo, pp. 795. 1888. \$4.50; — The Book of Job (According to the Version of 1885). With an Expository and Practical Commentary. Enriched with Illustrations from some of the most eminent Modern Expositors, and a Critical Introduction. By Daniel Curry, D. D., LL. D. Pp. lxxi, 302. 1887. \$2.00; — Woman, First and Last, and What she has Done. By Mrs. E. J. Richmond, author of "The Jeweled Serpent," "Zoa Rodman," etc., etc. 2 vols. Pp. 271, 300. 1887. \$2.00; — New Science of Elocution. The Elements and Principles of Vocal Expression in Lessons, with Exercises and Selections systematically arranged for acquiring the Art of Reading and Speaking. By S. S. Hamill, A. M., Chicago, Ill., late Professor of Rhetoric, English Literature, and Elocution, Illinois Wesleyan University, Bloomington, Ill., State University, Columbia, Mo. Pp. 382. 1887. \$1.00; — Some Aspects of the Blessed Life. By Mark Guy Pearse, author of "Thoughts on Holiness," etc., etc. Pp. 222. 1887. 75 cents; — Young

Folks' Nature Studies. By Virginia C. Phoebus. Pp. 258. 1887. \$1.00 ; — Self-Reliance Encouraged. For Young Ladies : Indicating the Principles and Possible Measures which will insure Honorable Success Here and Hereafter. By James Porter, D. D., author of "The Chart of Life," "The Winning Worker," etc., etc. Pp. 280. 1887. \$1.00 ; — Lost on an Island. By Mrs. Virginia C. Phoebus. Pp. 216. 1887. 80 cents ; — Five Sermons to Children. Delivered weekly in the Methodist Episcopal Churches of Holley, N. Y., and East Bloomfield, N. Y., during the Years 1880-1885. By Rev. William Armstrong, of Genesee Conference. Pp. 203. 1887. 80 cents ; — The Law and Limitation of our Lord's Miracles. A Semi-Centennial Discourse delivered at the Session of the Central New York Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Elmira, N. Y., October 11, 1887. By Daniel Dana Buck, D. D. Published by request of the Conference. Pp. 76. Paper, 12 cents ; cloth, 20 cents ; — Parliamentary Practice. By Rev. T. B. Neely, D. D. Tenth Thousand. Revised Edition. Pp. 92. 1886. Paper, 10 cents ; cloth, 25 cents.

Anson D. F. Randolph & Co., New York. The Church and the Eastern Empire. By the Rev. Henry Fanshawe Toser, M. A., Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College, Oxford, author of "The Highlands of Turkey," "Turkish Armenia," etc. Pp. x, 190. 80 cents. For sale by Clarke & Carruth, Boston.

Thomas Whittaker, New York. Gospels of Yesterday. Drummond : Spencer : Arnold. By Robert A. Watson, M. A. Pp. viii, 217. 1888. \$1.25 ; — Classical and Foreign Quotations, Law Terms and Maxims, Proverbs, Mottoes, Phrases and Expressions in French, German, Greek, Italian, Latin, Spanish, and Portuguese. With Translations, References, Explanatory Notes and Indexes. By Wm. Francis Henry King, M. A., Ch. Ch., Oxford. Pp. viii, 608-1888. \$1.75.

Dawson Brothers, Montreal. Sermons preached in St. Andrew's Church, Quebec. By John Cook, D. D., LL. D. Pp. x, 354. 1888.

PAMPHLETS. — Bureaux de la Lecture : Rue St. Joseph, 10 a Paris. La Lecture, Magazine litteraire bi-mensuel, 10 Mars, 1888. 60 centimes. — Cupples, & Hurd, Boston. Individual Rights. A Treatise upon Man's Powers and Duties, suggesting a New Method of Balloting. Part I. Free Will. Part II. Education. Part III. Society. Part IV. Fashion. Part V. Government. By William A. Sturdy. Pp. 90. 1888. 25 cents. — The American Home Missionary Society, New York. A Catechism furnishing Information concerning the Bohemian People, their History, and Christian Work among them in the United States. Prepared by Rev. F. M. Price. Pp. 33. 1888. — Tribune Print, Salt Lake City, Utah. Utah Statehood. Reasons Why it should not be Granted. Will the American People surrender the Territory to an Unscrupulous and Polygamous Theocracy ? Embracing : The Mormon Preliminary Movement ; the Democratic and Republican Refusal to take Part and their Reasons therefor ; Utah Commission Report ; Governor West in Opposition ; Review of the proposed Mormon Constitution ; Its Failure to Meet the Requirements of the Occasion. Pp. 72. 1887. — Long Island Historical Society, Brooklyn, N. Y. Proceedings of the Long Island Historical Society in Memory of Hon. James Carson Brevoort, Mrs. Urania Battell Humphrey, Hon. John Greenwood, and Alfred Smith Barnes. Pp. 15. 1888.



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IN THE COLONY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY, 1629-1685. By GEORGE E. ELLIS, President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, author of "The Red Man and the White Man in North America," etc. 1 vol. 8vo, \$3.50.

Dr. Ellis is one of the most competent and diligent students of American history, especially of the Colonial era. In this volume he gives the results of his researches and studies concerning the motives which prompted the self-criticism of the Puritans and the grounds on which they exercised their arbitrary rule in Massachusetts. Directly or indirectly the book challenges statements and criticisms which have appeared in some recent volumes dealing with the Puritans.

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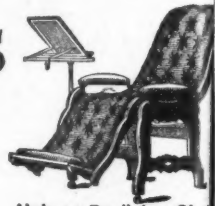
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